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CLERICAL TRAINING, BEFORE AND AFTER ORDINATION.

A GREAT deal is said and written now-a-days concerning the "Decline of Clerical Authority;" so that in many minds there may be a reasonable suspicion that there is truth in the allegation that it has declined. Of course every one admits exceptions to the alleged general fact. Here and there a man stands forth head and shoulders above his fellows in the ranks of the clergy; a man who has abundance of "auctoritas" over his fellow-men, which they gladly recognize and follow, not blindly, but intelligently. Such a cleric, both in and out of the pulpit, never lacks hearers who look up to him as a trustworthy guide, as an "authority" it shames neither their intelligence nor their manhood to bow to. But the allegation referred to deals with the general fact, and not the exceptions.

It may be worth while to consider some of the proofs of the allegation—some of the causes of the alleged fact; some of the remedies for it; and to do this in a suggestive rather than an exhaustive way,

admitting that every question may have two sides which ought to be considered in the interests of truth. It should be understood that this investigation of the subject has to do with this country, and not other countries; with Protestant Churches, and not the Roman Catholic Church, the status of whose clergy rests upon an unquestioning and blind obedience, in which to doubt the word or question the authority of a priest is of the nature of a sin which the members of that Communion would be slow to commit. Whether this ground of authority is better than another ground, is largely a matter of opinion. The fact can scarcely be disputed.

These conditions of the investigation being understood, let us consider statements often made in this connection, not necessarily admitting their truth, but putting them as they are actually put. One proof of the decline of clerical authority ("auctoritas," influence,) is in the small congregations "which gather in the churches. It cannot be denied that the attendance on even the Lord's day is not as general as it used to be. There is too often a beggarly account of empty benches." President Robinson, of Brown University, in his admirable "Lectures on Preaching," says: "It is computed that nearly two-thirds of the Protestant population of this country now habitually absent themselves from the Sunday church services. There is about the same proportion of absentees in England." (p. 79.) To be sure, in the olden time there was a certain amount of compulsion in the matter of attendance upon public worship, at any rate on Sunday morning. There was also a certain amount of respectability and social standing involved in going to church. These inducements are now to a great extent done away. People need not go if they do not wish to, and staying away brings no social disrepute worth caring for.

One other feature of attendance at church is noteworthy—namely, the preponderance of women over men in point of numbers. There is a tacit assump-

tion that, while church is a good place for women to go to, it somehow does not harmonize with virile tastes or obligations. It may be said that one reason of this is because men work harder and more exhaustingly during the week, and have greater need of "Sabbath" rest to recuperate their worn-out bodies and minds. But it is to be observed that this reason does not seem to hold good in congregations where there are ministers whose preaching men do not find wearisome or vapid. The question is not whether the proper reason for going to church be not rather public *worship* than to hear preaching. The fact remains that where there is really good preaching, congregations are apt to be large, and to have as many men as women in them to hear the preaching—and, perhaps, to profit by it. This fact would seem to show that where men stay away, it is generally in consequence of the absence of "clerical authority" to draw them; and the "clerical authority" which draws men is somewhat different from that which draws women.

Another phenomenon, which exhibits something wrong about the "authority" of the clergy, is the disposition among polite men of the world to accord a semi-feminine rôle to a clergyman—possibly on account of the long skirts of the regulation coat; to show a certain well-bred deference to his uniform and his office, rather than to himself as a man; while, all the time, his opinions and his advice would be the last thing sought or cared for. And this surface deference is often strangely at variance with other treatment by vestries, or trustees, or sessions, which clergymen experience. The contrast between the cleric's diminished influence at the present day, outside of merely clerical functions and among men of the world, and what it used to be, is certainly marked, exceptions to the rule, of course, being admitted.

Another phenomenon is, with admitted exceptions, the decline of applicants for the ministry, both as re-

gards the quantity and the quality of them. Formerly the strongest men, intellectually, sought admission to its ranks, and sought it in numbers. Now, while some strong men do seek and gain admission, too large a proportion of weak men seek and gain it; men weak naturally, and weakly furnished with that intellectual training which should fit them to cope with the difficulties of the day. That they are allowed to gain the admission which they seek, is often excused by a plea "of the lack of men and the needs of the field." But is it well to put poor workmen, however well intentioned, into a "field" which claims the best skilled labor? A man's personal piety may be unquestioned; but that does not make him, either naturally or, still less, with an imperfect training, "apt to teach." Where a man has simply to perform religious ceremonies mechanically, the "clean hands and pure heart" are all-sufficient for him; but where he has other work besides what may not irreverently be called mechanical functions; where he must "be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers, for there are many unruly and vain talkers and deceivers;" when, in short, his main work is, like Paul's, to "*preach the Gospel*;" then, surely, he needs, especially in these days, something besides the "clean hands and pure heart." The case was wisely and tersely put to one whose religious character was unquestionable, but whose aptness to teach was more than questionable, and who was seeking to enter the ministry. In answer to the suggestion that his Christian character would find a better field of usefulness elsewhere than in the ministry, the applicant exclaimed: "But, Doctor, does it not say 'Go, preach the Gospel to every critter?'" "Yes, my friend, it does; but it *doesn't* say to every critter 'Go, preach the Gospel.'"

Then, as to quantity. The falling off in the numbers as well as the quality of those who are candidates for the ministry, is evidenced by the existence of "societies for the increase of the ministry" of va-

rious kinds, whose aim is to offer inducements to postulants, and to give them help in gaining such an education as to enable them to pass the necessary examinations before ordination. Of the character of this education more will be said farther on. The point now is, that these agencies are set on foot to meet and remedy an avowed lack of applicants for the ministry.

Let us now look for some causes of the above facts; and, first, for the fact of the "decline of clerical authority." The last-mentioned fact—the poor quality (not as regards personal worth and character, but as regards all that may be summed up in the expression "aptness to teach") of too large a portion of ministers in various churches, witnessed to by the results of their labors as compared with the labors of others—this fact may account in large measure for such decline.

Then, of course, another cause is "the devil," generally at the bottom of all that is not what it should be. But "the devil" is too often an abstract generalization of evil. The question here is, by what particular strings does he move things so as to produce the combinations he is supposed to desire? If we can get at the strings and cut them, we spoil both the movements of his puppets and his game at the same time.

It is claimed—and who shall say that the claim is unfounded?—that there is a failure on the part of ministers to keep pace with the advance of the age in learning and in being practical; in always seeing the right head to hit and how to hit it. Indeed, ministers are generally credited with not only lagging behind the advanced line of knowledge, but also with being opposed to it. Each new scientific advance has had to be fought for in the teeth of the directors of religious thought, because they somehow felt that religion was in danger, and because they could not at once rise to the conviction that God would not write one law in His works and another contradictory one

in His word. This opposition is no new thing. From the days of Giordano Bruno, burned in 1600 for teaching the Copernican system of astronomy, it has been manifested. Its latest suicidal phase is the attempt in England to forcibly suppress the works of Messrs. Huxley, Tyndall, Herbert Spencer, Darwin, and other such lights of science. But the difference between the old times and the present is, that then the clergy could enforce their authority by the dungeon or the stake; now, men can bow with a pitying sneer at them and pass by unharmed. Formerly it was bad for the scientists; now it is bad for the clergy and their influence. Men regard them as advocates for their *systems* rather than for the *truth*.

Then again, the conventional character and methods of many ministers is not especially favorable to a strong influence. Plain, practical people fail to see why, if a man really has a message from God to men, he should not give it in a thoroughly natural and earnest way, instead of in a thoroughly conventional and earnest way, falling back upon set phrases—many of them antiquated—which have the flavor of professional monotony and the twang of nasal pietism. It is hard not to contrast, intuitively, such tones and ways with the perfectly natural and manly tones and ways of such preachers of righteousness as Samuel, Nathan, Elijah, John the Baptist, Peter and Paul, whose “clerical authority” was unquestionable; nay, reverently be it said, with the perfectly natural and manly tones and ways of Him who, “in the days of His flesh,” was one whom “the common people heard gladly, for He taught them as one having authority, and not as the Scribes.” Surely, so far as the above-mentioned facts exist, they may be cited as sufficient causes for the “decline of clerical authority.” Do they not exist in too large measure?

But there are causes also for the existence of the second phenomenon noted above, viz., the decline of applicants for the ministry, both as regards the *quantity* as well as the *quality* of them.

When a man takes his life in his hand, and, in obedience to what he believes his vocation, goes to preach to the heathen, he does so with a full knowledge of, and a determination to meet, the worst that may be in store for him. But when, as most ministers in Christian countries do, he expects to be settled as a pastor over a congregation of Christian people—of course with a large sprinkling of unbelievers among them—he *ought* not to anticipate what he too often gets.

He is nominally the teacher and spiritual guide; too often he is really the one person in the parish whom many in it feel called upon to teach and to try to compel to walk in their ways.

He is theoretically supposed to be called to his pastorate for the purpose of teaching the truth, of re-proving, rebuking, exhorting, those who need such ministrations. But too often in reality he is expected to please, to truckle to the wealthy or influential parishioner, to shape his teaching in accordance with the superior theological attainments of the wise people of his flock, to avoid disagreeable practical matters; and if he does not so trim his sails, he is opposed, criticized, thwarted; if possible, starved or crowded out.

He is expected to have the vigor of Paul and the eloquence of Apollos, and in many cases to exercise those gifts for a totally inadequate compensation; those who "sit under him" being much fonder of remembering that Paul gloried in working with his own hands in order that, under peculiar circumstances not existing in the present case, he "might not be chargeable to any of them," than they are of remembering the assertion of the Lord that "the laborer is worthy of his hire." Furthermore, in the present condition of things ecclesiastical, let a minister whose salary is insufficient set himself to work at any reputable "worldly business" (except, perhaps, teaching) to keep himself out of debt and provide comfort for his family—and in how many in-

stances would not his congregation be up in arms claiming that his whole time was due to them, and besides, that it was not "becoming" for "a minister of the Gospel to engage in worldly business?"

Even if pecuniary matters are satisfactory, there is no class of men so exposed to silly and carping criticisms of all kinds, against which, from the very nature of the case, ministers are powerless, and which, to a man of ordinary sensibility who is conscious that he is doing his best in the faithful performance of his duty, are galling in the extreme. He knows that at any time, without fault of his own, any malicious or stupid gossip and scandal-monger can start a feeling against him which will work around in the dark, growing as it works, until his usefulness is destroyed, and, wearied with the hopeless effort to parry blows dealt him in the dark, he goes away to some other post of labor, perhaps to repeat the experience.

In view of all such things, well known to be facts of too frequent existence, it is scarcely to be wondered at that men of parts and self respect are disposed to seek other professions, feeling they can do as much good in the world, and with far more satisfaction, being laymen, as they could if clergymen. And one remedy for the diminution of the number of candidates for the ministry to be exercised in the settled pastorate among nominal Christians would seem to be the removal by the said nominal Christians of the causes which repel men of parts and of self respect from the office of the ministry under circumstances in which they are too often forced to exercise it.

But suppose, with all these drawbacks, etc., clearly known, a man determines to seek Holy Orders, what should his training be? It is a very important question in connection with the present "decline of clerical authority."

There is no questioning the fact that many congregations are not intellectual to a degree which would

give trouble to an ordinarily educated and a pious man, who, with a good personal character and honest devotion to his work, would find himself perfectly competent to impress his flock with all needed and proper respect for and deference to his "clerical authority." If he had a reasonable amount of common sense and tact, this respect and deference would be largely increased.

But there is also no questioning the fact that very many congregations, and people outside of congregations, even with very moderate educations, do a great deal of hard-headed thinking in these days; which hard-headed thinking is stimulated by the current literature of the day which delights to object to Christianity both through the press and from the rostrum. The public mind is being leavened with such objections, some of them simply scurrilous, some of them learned, acute, and strongly argumentative, coming from people who possess the "art of putting things" to a remarkable degree. While the clergyman is doing his regular preaching, reiterating established dogmas or inculcating obedience to the word of God, there is a great deal of thinking and doing going on both inside and outside the congregation which is based upon grave doubts concerning the word of God itself and the obligation to be bound by it. Sometimes the clergyman is aware of this; sometimes he is not; and somehow or other, owing to an idea of the professional peculiarities of many clergymen, even the well-disposed hesitate to talk freely with him for fear of "shocking" him by expressions of doubt and difficulty. When a Christian Bishop takes the ground that it is only the devil at the bottom of all doubt and difficulty, and that therefore doubt and difficulty are *ipso facto* wrong and to be frowned down, it is not hard to account for much that is amiss in the relationships between clergy and laity—and especially an *unbelieving* laity.

The task set the clergyman of the present day is not simply to preach orthodox sermons and lectures,

and to visit the sick and afflicted who value his ministrations. It is partly this; but it is, also, to "*convince* the gainsayers," not to rail at them or to play constable with them. President Robinson has some words worthy of attention with reference to the range of subjects which present fields in which such convincing may be necessary. He says (p. 115) "Natural science is only one of the many fields of knowledge over which men are now roaming, and of which the religious teacher is not expected to be wholly ignorant. History, philosophy, and literature, all open wide their gates and whosoever will may enter. They offer richest materials illustrative of man's need, as well as of the power and glory, of the religion of Jesus. From them have been abstracted weapons with which the enemies of Christianity have sought to destroy it; and from them must the teacher of religion procure the only weapons with which the enemies can be repelled. Nor can he afford to omit this part of his equipment. A suspicion of his ignorance in matters on which he may, and ought to be, informed, will rob him of one element of his power. And yet here, as in dealing with those who would turn natural science against Christianity, the business of the preacher of righteousness is not so much to beat back the enemies of the Cross, as it is to instruct and encourage the inquisitive and impartial."

Here we are getting at the root of the difficulty, namely: defect in clerical training before ordination,—begging pardon of theological seminaries and their professors for the assertion.

The defect consists, *not* in the absence of careful training in the learned languages, or the works of "the Fathers," or the systems of doctrine which each seminary may hold to be true, or the facts (?) of church history, &c., &c. The gist of the defect lies in teaching too much with regard to some particulars of the *past* with too little regard to some particulars of the *present*. The training goes too much in well-

worn ruts, while the exigencies of the present demand a newer and wider roadway. Familiarity with the past is a good thing; familiarity and ability to deal with the present is an essential thing which should always be added. The present, whether we like it to be so or not, bows not so much to the authority of the reiteration of dogma as it does to a demonstration of the truth. "Aptness to teach" does not now consist in saying authoritatively, "You *must* not doubt," but rather in saying convincingly "I will give you good reasons why you *need* not doubt;" and in giving them. All this, of course, in connection with faithful performance of important but also routine functions.

When a child is to be taught anything at school, every one with experience in teaching knows there are at least two things to be considered by the instructor, if he is to *teach* and not simply "hear lessons." One is the inherent difficulty of the subject; the other is, the difficulty as it appears to the child. No one can teach thoroughly who does not first understand the subject himself, and then know exactly what the child does not understand. He must let himself down to the level of the child's ignorance before he can elevate the child to the level of the teacher's knowledge. Now, this holds good for all teaching. And hence it follows that a clergyman should be able to put himself in the position, first, of understanding the subject, and, secondly, of sympathy with—*i. e.*, a full appreciation of—honest doubts and unbeliefs. This, as it seems to us, was what that great teacher, Paul the Apostle, meant when he wrote:

For though I be free from all men, yet have I made myself servant to all, that I might gain the more. And unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews; to them that are under the law, as under the law, that I might gain them that are under the law; to them that are without law, as without law (being not without law to God, but under the law to Christ), that I might gain them that are without law. To the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak; I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some.

And this I do for the Gospel's sake, that I might be partaker thereof with you.

It is a magnificent principle, and underlies all true teaching. At the present time there is as much doubt and unbelief born of knowledge as there is born of ignorance, and it is harder to deal with in thoroughness. To do so successfully the clergy need to be at least conversant with the learning of the day; nay more, need to be versed in it. If they antagonize it with ignorance, it will antagonize them and despise them. If they master it and use it, they may not always prove their point, but they will certainly have a respectful hearing from a large, learned and influential class of people who do not care to listen to them otherwise. Of course, it may well be, and perhaps always will be, as it was on Mars' Hill upon a memorable occasion, when a Christian teacher met the philosophers and wits of Athens on their own ground and argued with them out of their own textbooks,—some will "scoff," but others will say, "We will hear thee again of this matter."

How many of us clergy have had, before we were ordained, such a training as would fit us to deal *powerfully* with "all sorts and conditions of men?"—the learned skeptic as well as the ignorant boor, the constitutional objector as well as the devoutly trustful? There may have been plenty of antiquity in a certain line, but how about the furnishing with practical ability to cope with the present, *its* doubts, its opposition, its learning, its needs?

What is the too usual, but happily not universal, course pursued with and by a young man who selects the ministry as his profession? He is more frequently than not what is known as "a good young man," who knows comparatively little of the world, the flesh, and the devil. His boyhood has been carefully guarded from evil influences. He has often breathed the atmosphere of a Christian home. These blessings are of inestimable value for his personal character. He has grown up believing as his parents, or others

in whom he has confidence, have believed; and if doubts have presented themselves to his mind, he has probably been taught that doubt is sin and he should summarily dismiss them. He may go to college or he may not. If he does, he too often gets a mere smattering of classics and mathematics. *Science* is generally not considered a part of a pre-ministerial course. Those who devote themselves to as much of it as meets them in a college course ordinarily have other definite pursuits in view. If he does not take a college course, he has to "make up," generally too hurriedly, and therefore superficially, what will enable him to pass an entrance-examination at some theological seminary. There he goes through his "theological course," acquiring among other things a certain manner and a way of looking at things generally, which is supposed to be "clerical." He may hear something of objections to this, that, or the other Christian dogma which he is taught to be the correct dogma, and he is furnished with arguments against other Christians' dogmas, and in favor of his own. He hears scepticism and infidelity treated with disrespect, and he is liberally furnished with the arguments used by the early Fathers against the infidels of their day, but not so liberally with weapons to fight the infidelity or the indifference of the present. In an atmosphere of "the faith," he finds his own "faith" strengthened; and perhaps learns to feel a wonder how any one can be an unbeliever. He is ready to dispute concerning free will, grace of congruity, imputation, predestination, reprobation, sacramental efficacy; he knows the different "heresies" by heart, and sets a high value upon "orthodoxy."

Most of this is all well enough. The all too short term of his seminary course draws to its close, and he takes upon himself the solemn vows of the ministry. In all probability he has had some experimental training in "mission work" in the neighborhood of his seminary, among a class of people who need personal sympathy and perhaps pecuniary aid, and

are ready enough to attend his lay-ministrations, and he acquires an enthusiasm for his work. He sometimes, upon his ordination, takes charge of a parish ; sometimes he becomes an assistant, and in that capacity becomes an object of interest to the ladies of the flock, and with their assistance, does a good work in the Sunday-school and among the poor of the parish. Finally he graduates from his assistantship and receives a "call" to a pastorate.

During his course of preparation his time has been fully occupied with his text-books and other seminary work, and his course of reading has been somewhat restricted. His intellectual training has been chiefly in one line of thought. When he gets out into the world in active work, he is necessarily brought more into contact with all sorts of people. With the women he is apt to find more faith than questioning, although there are exceptions, of course. With the men, especially the unbelieving ones, he finds either that they are silent with regard to their doubts and objections, and therefore he loses an opportunity of influence most desirable ; or, if they speak, he is not unlikely to find some matters he has been led to consider settled, subject to grave doubt. It has never struck him in this way before. It sets him to thinking. There is more in the doubt than he supposed. Of course, the doubt, the objection, the denial, *must* be all bosh ; but it has an ugly way of coming up all the time. He finds there is a book or two on the subject, published, perhaps, since he left the seminary, and he reads them. The doubt assumes larger proportions. The dogma he supposed unassailable turns out to be vulnerable. The interpretation he regarded as settled is uncertain after all. The authorship of certain books of the Scriptures is differently assigned from his previous understanding of it. The train of argument he had considered conclusive is upset by an unpleasant fact. What he has been taught to regard as of the essence of the faith, he finds to be a matter of human addition—a parasite clinging to it.

He becomes very uncomfortable. He does not feel sure of his ground, and when he meets men who disbelieve what he has been taught to believe, he is not overstrong in setting them right. They are quick to see it, and his influence, with *them* at least, wanes. Or, he may, instead of argument, assume "clerical authority," and condemn error *ex cathedra*. Then his influence wanes still more. Finally, the doubt enters into his own mind and eats into his very soul. Three courses are now open to him. He may try to smother the doubt without subduing it, and cry "peace, peace," when there is no peace. It is there, and is an incubus. Or, he may not smother it to any degree, and may go on pretending to believe one thing when he really believes another, or at best does *not* believe heartily what he seems to. Or, he may—let us hope that he does—meet his doubt like a man, and in fair hand to hand fight overcome it, like him who

Fought his doubts and gathered strength ;
 He would not make his judgment blind :
 He faced the spectres of the mind
 And laid them ; thus he came at length
 To find a stronger faith his own.

Then, indeed, he is strong. Then can he bring the strength of sympathy and conviction to others who are troubled as he was.

But ought not all this to have been attended to in his pre-ordination training, by those who professed to furnish him with the weapons for his warfare? No theological training ought to be considered complete, so far as a student's *intellectual* training goes, which does not confront him in his seminary course with all that modern science and modern infidelity can bring against the truths he is supposed to hold and to teach. One very practical method of doing this would be for each seminary to have its "*advocatus diaboli*," as it were, against whom the orthodox professors should arm the student in a *real* combat of knowledge and argument, and not of denial or railing merely. There

might be fewer ordained after such a course; but those who were would be men of tenfold power. We should not, in all probability, hear so much about "the decline of clerical authority." But such an innovation would probably be considered too drastic a remedy for the defects complained of.

Either of three other plans would certainly produce better results than are attained at present; and each is, or ought to be, practicable.

1. A lengthening of the seminary course for more thorough training.

2. The engaging in some business till the candidate for orders is at least thirty years old. This would enable him to acquire a better practical knowledge, before ordination, of the world and its ways; in acquiring which he could also pursue a distinct line of theological reading. It would also, in many cases, enable him to acquire at least a moderate pecuniary competence which, as things go, would vastly add to his personal independence and manhood, after taking holy orders—valuable factors in "clerical authority." It would also give him broader views of life and life's problems, that would tell in increased power of ministrations; and it would enable him more fully to know his own mind before he took orders.

3. If ordained at a younger age, the remaining as an assistant—(the theory of the diaconate in the Episcopal Church)—till he should be thirty instead of twenty-four years old, except in case of marked individual fitness earlier to assume the responsibilities of a teacher and guide to others, many of them older than himself. This probation would ripen his experience and be of itself a valuable education.

It is not without significance in this connection that we read that "Jesus himself began to be about thirty years of age" before he appeared as a public teacher.

Either of these three courses would furnish a ministry against whose "authority" much less could be said than at present.

JOHN ANDREWS HARRIS.

POEMS BY THE WAYSIDE.

Carols, Hymns and Songs. By John Henry Hopkins. New York: 1883.

Poems by the Wayside. By John Henry Hopkins. New York: 1883.

DR. JOHN HENRY HOPKINS, known to the Church and the world for many good long years, as his latest title-page reminds us, and always well known by manifold strong work of brain and pen, is before us again with a book, and is heartily welcome. Not many months ago, as we were glad to see, at the time, he issued a third edition, enlarged, with musical notation throughout, of his "Carols, Hymns and Songs." Now we have of him a new and very handsome volume, "Poems by the Wayside."

Both books are of great interest and value.

He that shall write the favorite carols, or but a few favorite carols, of the Church, for her great times, will surely be doing something of the same sort as he that, "having leave to write the ballads of a nation," can look over with supreme unconcern at those who "make its laws." Dr. Hopkins has had this satisfaction of writing and giving music of their own to carols that in many lands awaken Christmas long before the dawn, and lead the warblings of the birds at Easter, Ascension and Whitsunday. The very titles of them are most taking, as: "Three Kings of Orient," "Evergreen, Holly and Laurel," "Let Every Heart Now Dance With Joy," "Praise of Woman," and plenty of others. In their wording we easily find a rugged strength that grapples and holds the memory, while the strength of the music clings, as closely as shadow, to the words. We smile (let us not say at,

but) with the dialogue of "The Old Roman Soldier," and the Christian Children. We feel ourselves ready to take our share in either part, or in both parts, to help the piece on, orderly, to its all-longed-for and fitting end, when the old legionary gives in to the faithful and persistent children, and says:

My idols all I cast away,
Christ's soldier to my dying day!

and joins them in the chorus:

Christ is risen! Christ is risen, indeed! Alleluia!

A catch of the tune brings up the words; a word or two calls back the music, so deftly and so closely are the words and music fitted to each other.

In "The Shepherds of Bethlehem," we seem to be in the stillness and the stir, by turns, of the cold nightfall and of the shepherds' cheery song which was

To keep themselves awake and warm.

It seems to us as plain and palpable a thing as can be, to our very sight:

When lo! an angel from on high,
Comes sailing down the starry sky;

and when the worthy tenders of the fleecy cattle straight take their way to Bethlehem ("Their flocks all following after them"), our feet join in the manifold trampling and pattering of sandals and small hoofs. Seeing and setting forth in the concrete rather than the abstract, the author has a special fitness for producing these effects.

In this book, "Carols, Hymns and Songs," Dr. Hopkins has given us words, and their music, of his own; words of his own to the music of others; his own music to others' words. Occasionally he follows a principle which he proclaims and advocates manfully as the rule of right in such cases, that in the matter of making an offering for the worship of God, all private claims or right to authorship should be disregarded wherever a good line or stanza comes to one's hand already made better than one can make.

He sometimes changes, perhaps, the substance (in great part) of every stanza of a hymn, without scruple, for reasons of his own. Not every one will agree with him that we can spare the discarded lines, even where his substitute is distinctly excellent; as it is, for example, in the first stanza of "Jerusalem! High Tower Thy Glorious Walls," where, starting with the first two lines of the Hymnal, he changes the next two into these:

My heart hath gone where thy fair beauty calls,
And dwells no more in me.

Bp. Whittingham's, as they stand in the Hymnal, are:

Desire of Thee my longing heart enthral,
Desire at home to be.

Readers will be glad to see, in this book, a new translation of the Advent Anthems, "O Sapientia," and the rest. Seven of the eight, by several hands, are given in the Hymnal, and as they stand are capable of very effective use in the week before Christmas, while we hope to hear them sung in plain English prose, also, with full leave, at their season. Those who look to the Latin will observe decided merit in Dr. Hopkins' excellent work, which usually keeps the special invitation of each antiphon. The Hymnal's translators, instead of these special invitations, which end every antiphon except the last, "O Virgo Virginum," and which are generally distinct, though with occasional repetition, bring up the end of each with one single (very good) refrain, unvarying.

Draw near, O Christ, with us to dwell,
In mercy save Thine Israel.*

* Some idea of the variations may be formed by comparing with the above refrain a turning like this (which we make only for illustration) of the ending in "O, Radix Jesse," "Veni ad liberandum nos: jam noli tardare:"

Come, Thou, O come to set us free!
Make us no more to wait for Thee!

In the well known favorite carol, "Three Kings of Orient," the striking of a note or two of the author's spirited and graphic music brings up "Field and Fountain, Moor and Mountain," and almost sets our feet going in "Following yonder Star."

Because of this life dwelling in them, strong and vigorous αὐτοκινῶν we speak of these old friends as ever fresh and new. They are, indeed, like streams that, having trickled down the living rock for unknown ages, are welcome to our lips to-day, and slake our thirst as well as they were welcome and refreshing to those who followed the wood-paths before our time.

This book is as rich in musical composition as in song. We have already, without attempting critical examination, touched upon forceful and striking merits of Dr. Hopkins' melodies as joined to his words. We have here the notes of many new tunes, besides those with which we are familiar in our Hymnals; and of these new will doubtless come forth many to be as much liked and as much used as (for example) that of Dr. Hopkins for "Come, Holy Ghost, our Souls Inspire," whose excellent fitness must have been felt by every one who ever heard it with his heart.

But we must not dwell so long on this book as to give ourselves no time and space for the later very attractive volume, "*Poems by the Wayside*." In this our author has given to others whatever in "more than forty years" of strenuous thinking, writing, and doing, and serving God, he has put into such shape as, whether satisfying or not his own ideal, he hopes may give pleasure to others, or help them at their need. Here are, perhaps, records of great strugglings of mind or heart; records of great happenings in the outer world or in the writer's own faring through life, happening to himself, but touching his fellows as having been thought or enjoyed or suffered by one who could tell them.

Here we have some longer poems of fancy, as "The Mermaid Isle," "The Witch Queen," and others

from earlier years. Here we have allegories, poems for occasions, descriptive poems, and here we have, too, new hymns and other songs. The variety of measure is as great as the variety of subject. "The Mermaid Isle," as the author tells us, was begun when he was fifteen and finished when he was twenty years old. An occasional line or two, where it serves his purpose, may be taken to his use from Thomas Haynes Bayly (are we spelling rightly the sea-singer's name of fifty years ago?); an occasional line or two may be taken from "The Ancient Mariner;" the heroine is the fair young orphan lady with the bad uncle guardian (of old verse and prose); but the whole poem is of our author in his youth. The "pearl boat," the caves under the deep, wide water, the island "far beyond the moon-lit sea," are all as his own fancy painted them, and the poem shows well his descriptive power. To this may witness:

'Tis as when, in the noon of a summer's day,
By the cicada's roundelay,
By the cool, clear brook in its bubbling play,
Or by the murmuring wings of bees,
By whispering trees or sighing seas,
Silence is bred, not broken.

We will not spoil the story for the reader by half giving it; but leave him to follow, under the sea, fair lady and fisherman

*ἐνθα Νηρήδων χόροι
Κάλλιστον ἰχνος ἐξελίσσουσιν ποδός.*

We must let him find answer for himself to the author's question: "The Mermaid Queen, oh, who was she?" and to settle for himself what claim the fisherman who sat upon the rock and "let saut tears doun fa', intil the saut, saut sea," had to be caught by the mermaids three, and, undergoing "a sea change," to be led through the eery chambers of the deep and to bring back fair Lady Mary. We must leave him to adjust also, and adjudicate upon, the rival pretensions of the fisherman and the noble

knight who, at the last, bore off upon his saddle-bow the Lady Mary and wedded her in church. We must leave him to follow the frightful remorse and death of Sir Gerald, the wicked uncle.

The Witch-queen is the eldritch woman or lothelie ladie of old ballads; transformed by spell, brought back by Holy Baptism to her own shape, then beloved by King Dietrich, on whom she had fastened her company when he could only loathe her deformity, and married happily to him in the end, as she had proposed from the beginning, and as we doubted much whether she would be, and felt sure that she ought not to be.

More than one love poem here, in which strong feeling finds full and strong utterances, will interest readers who have feeling, and here are many carefully finished poems in which religious allegory, or a deep spiritual analogy (as in "Harebell Blue," "Seeds" and others), is very skilfully followed out for those of kindred taste. There are two interesting addresses: To Classmates (in good English hexameters*) and before college literary societies, on "Liberty." Some, too, of the "Carrier's Addresses" from the old *Church Journal*, which the author of these books made the brightest and most interesting, at least, of our Church papers, will be welcomed for their account of the Crimean War, the Sepoy Rebellion, and the Opening of the East, which will be always good.

Here is a Miltonic hymn on the Passion, from which we give, almost at random, a single stanza:

In vain false Pilate stands;
No washing of the hands

* By the way the Latin distich, which looks as if it ought to be elegiac, needs touching in its first verse, if it stands for a second edition, to make it scan. A little word left off, another short word put in elsewhere, would do this; if it be *opera pretium*. We have marked no other oversight, even of the slightest sort, by author or printer, in the whole book.

Clears from the heart the tinct of innocent blood!
 The crowd, with cruel care,
 Load His shoulders bare,
 Like Isaac's, with the sacrificial wood,
 And the red lash, with many a blow,
 Scourges His moaning steps along the road of woe.

From "Liberty" we take a single stanza:

But when the winds their battle-trumpets blow
 Aloft, with martial fury flashing,
 Up start the billowy hosts their armor clashing,
 With crested heads careering to and fro;
 Shoreward they rush, like plumed horsemen dashing,
 Headlong on the foe.
 At length within the hollow bay,
 In long-drawn, pensive sighs, the tempest dies away.
 The glassy swells with lazy, loitering sweep
 Along the curved beach slow-lingering creep,
 And gently round the silvery circle move,
 Till, by the mellow moon, their music seems
 Soft as the name of one we love,
 Murmured in dreams.

There are many pieces here from which we should like to make quotation, if it could be made without doing them injustice. As a general thing they are too closely put together and too much of a piece to bear tearing apart and showing piecemeal. The titles of some will suggest the prevailing character: "Sunshine on the Sea," "The Silent River," "Down the Wood-path," "The Village Good-night," "Moonlight on the River," "Sunshine and Shadow." In the hymns for German *chorals* will be found great energy of movement; take as an example the author's rendering of "Ein' feste Burg;" that mighty outburst of mankind's living faith through Luther's heart and voice. Dr. Hopkins remarks, very truly, that our indefinite article "a" has not the weight—the *quantity*, of the German "ein"—to fit it for a strong starting note. There is another remark too, which we offer to readers who are not philologists, as pointing out a strength of meaning which the German article still retains, more or less, and which our own, though derived in precisely the same way, has lost—

becoming truly an "indefinite" bit of grammar. Originally this article with us, as with the Germans, and again the Latin nations, meant *one*; in the Scottish branch of our tongue it held, later than in that below the Tweed, its form "ane" (pron. "*yen*") "honest man." In brave Luther's hymn, in Luther's time, and even yet, the word being a word, and being the same word, unchanged as the numeral, carries to the glorious opening something kindred, as if we said One fast-set stronghold is our God! One there is, if no other. A share at least of this strength lurks still in the article of the Germans.

In accepting a new rendering we need not disparage an older. Most carryings-over from one tongue to another are rather paraphrases than translations. There is more leave therefore for occasional freedom.

Scimus, et hanc veniam petimusque, damusque, vicissim.

Of course, Bishop Whittingham, in his rendering, knowingly put "mountain fastness" as a new phrase, and not an English equivalent for the German.

Dr. Hopkins' "Slumberers Wake" to the *choral* Wachet auf has in it the picturesque life which is common to the original and to Miss Winkworth's version; he has well matched the original with a stanza of his own.

In spite of our best will, finding ourselves against the barrier which bounds our space, we leave off here, but we leave the author of these books to kindly hearts. He has bespoken his own welcome.

ROBERT T. S. LOWELL.

HAS THE TIME COME TO REVISE THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES?

THE result of the scientific investigation of the last fifty years, and the present tendency to greater liberality in Church thought, may well cause us to turn our attention to the Articles of our Faith established long ago. The question of the revision of the Prayer Book being now before the General Convention renders an examination of a portion thereof not inappropriate at this time.

A few reflections may be indulged in by way of preface. When Macaulay in one of his essays laid down propositions to the effect that theology is an exact science, cannot change, the same yesterday, to-day and forever, it would seem he was incorrect, on principle and historically. Theology is like geology, biology, sociology, a thing of growth. Like them, it is a science. Like them, it is not an exact science. Admit this, at once disappears all fear of conflict. If the Bible is the word of God, there can be no conflict between it and His works. Hence there can be no conflict between science and religion; nor has there ever been. Substitute for the word religion, theology, the case is different. Much antagonism has there been, much will there be. Geologists have disagreed with astronomers; theologians have warred with scientists. If there be an apparent conflict between science and theology, it can only arise from a wrong interpretation either of the words or works of God. Theology results from inferences, equally as geology. As the scientist seeks to interpret the meaning of the works, so the theologian seeks to interpret

the meaning of the word. If the source of each be the same, how can conflict come but from a mistake of the scientist or of the theologian? Neither can claim immunity from error more than the other, for each is human. History proves this. Theologians have been compelled to abandon beliefs once tenaciously held, to accept conclusions once pugnaciously rejected. So have scientists. Taught thus by experience, by principle, by an implicit faith in an infallible Creator, an humble distrust in their fallible selves, it is the duty, equally of each, to be ready to abandon any interpretation, the one of Nature, the other of the Bible, the moment it becomes clear on proper evidence that such interpretation is erroneous.

It has always been harder for the theologian to acknowledge error than for his co-seeker after truth, the scientist. But in the end, if there has been a conflict, and truth has been with the scientist, the theologian has confessed himself vanquished, has forgotten, even denied, that he ever thought otherwise, read his Bible again with new lights, and changed his dogma.

The scientist depends for his theories upon inferences from a group of facts. Subsequent investigation, greater knowledge, may show those inferences to be incorrect. Other facts not before known, or not known to have any connection with the former, cause the changes. Once he is certain of this, there is every reason for him to change his opinion, none for him to retain it. In fact, as discoveries increase, the more must the scientist's theories be tentative, until time has established them. His bias is entirely in the direction the inductive theory leads him. Lead him where it will, he follows. But the theologian depends for his dogmas upon the meaning, not of facts, but of words, words which remain the same yesterday, to-day, forever. No new group of words is discovered by fresh investigation. This it was, probably, that led Macaulay into maintaining that theology is an exact science like mathematics.

If the words remain the same, why should the theologian change his inferences from them? Yet he has done so. The first chapter of Genesis is the same to-day as it was an hundred years ago; yet, by none is its meaning deemed the same.

Take the fifteenth chapter of 1st Corinthians. One hundred years ago, nay less, fifty years, or even twenty-five, it seems to have been the generally accepted belief that the self-same body which was deposited in the earth arose again. When the Churches repeated in the Creed, "I believe in the resurrection of the body," the meaning intended was, the very body of flesh and bones that was buried, the risen body presenting the same appearance in feature, lineament, expression as the deposited body—a glorified body, to be sure, but after all, the self-same body. You will find many an old sermon (antiquated now) depicting in eloquent terms the scenes at the resurrection day, the air thick with bones flying through it, bone seeking its adjacent bone, all the different parts of the body looking for each other! Those good divines do not describe what would occur among cannibals. They omit to tell whose body it would be, where one body had been eaten by another; nor do they account for the flesh and bones of the martyrs burned at the stake. Had you asked them, they would have exclaimed, Blasphemy! To extricate themselves from a difficulty raised by one interpretation, they would have invoked another. They would have ended discussion by saying, "With God all things are possible." Who adheres to that interpretation now? Yet that wonderful chapter rings its grand, inspiring tones in the same words to us as to our forefathers. The words are still there, the meaning has changed. This is the aptest illustration that theology is a growth, like other sciences. In explicit words S. Paul denounces a man who would believe the self-same body doctrine, to be a fool. "But some man will say, how are the dead raised up? and with what body do they come? Thou fool! That

which thou sowest is not quickened except it die. And that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be." Again, "Now this I say, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God." Yet the Church for centuries construed these words to mean directly the opposite.

What, then, causes the theologian to change an interpretation? The answer is, scientific discovery compels him to accept this conclusion, that there is a connection between nature and the Bible he had never dreamed of. That reached, he sees he must change his interpretation of the Bible in the light of well-settled interpretation of nature. What happened when Galileo said the earth went round the sun, and the Church said it did not, has been repeated ever since, will be repeated hereafter. There should be nothing startling in this. Remember how large a part construction has to play in theology. Construction is the Baconian theory of theology. The infidel Ingersoll thinks to throw a stumbling block in the way of Christianity when he asks the flip-pant, superficial question, if the Bible is the Word of God, why has not God written that Word in terms so plain there can be no dispute as to its meaning, he who runs may read? But he forgets, no matter in how plain and simple language God may have expressed His meaning, man's ingenuity raises qualifications, exceptions. Man construes the command to mean this, not to mean that, and presents the result as—theology; he to be damned who does not accept it. Thus, can this apostle of blatancy point out how much plainer and simpler could be written the command, Thou shalt not kill? Yet, the Christian soldier in war, the Christian hangman in peace, take life; the Christian divine acquits them by a construction, under certain circumstances, thou shalt kill. Can you devise a shorter, more explicit command, Thou shalt not steal? Christian battalions on a forage convert to their own use what is not their own, and are likewise acquitted by

a construction, sometimes thou mayest steal. Christ says, "Swear not at all." The thirty-ninth Article says, "The Christian religion doth not prohibit but that a man may swear when the magistrate requireth."

Hence is demonstrated, by logic irresistible, that just as science is based on induction, so theology is based on construction. The Word of God is the same yesterday, to-day, forever. Man is not. Man's body dies. Man's mind is fallible. His brain is a portion of that decaying body. As he may err in deducing his scientific theory, so likewise may he err in constructing his theological dogma.

To sum our preface up—at any and every moment, the Church must stand ready to allow her doctrines to be examined from a scientific, as well as a Biblical standpoint. If they are found to be irreconcilable to incontestible facts, she must revise and rearrange them. She must therefore always stand ready to answer the question, has the time come to reconsider any dogma, in the light of well settled scientific discovery?

In proceeding to look at a few of the Thirty-nine Articles in detail, it is proper to say, there is no intention to attack them, or to maintain that they are wrong; the intention is to indulge in a few reflections about them, not to cast reflections on them.

This paper is meant only as an apology for a layman's presumption in daring to read those Articles in any other spirit than that of meekly swallowing whatever our spiritual doctors decide shall be taken by laymen. But we make bold to maintain, whoever reads the articles of the Church, with no *a priori* intention of blind acquiescence, will have some such thoughts as the following. They may be wholly wrong, superficial, or even apparently heretical, thoughts; even if so, it will not do to sneer at them, or be equally superficial and make the flippant answer worn out by constant use, "they betray great ignorance of sound Church doctrine." So long as the people, not infidels, but laymen of the Church, who

believe life to be so serious that they cannot "eat, drink and be merry, for to-morrow we die," who must ponder on these things—so long, we say, as they have such thoughts, it is the business of the clergy to recognize this state of affairs, and greet it, not with gibes, not with sneers; but with kindness, with patience, above all, with sound sense, begotten of knowledge of science as well as of theology. Among other things, let us be informed what is the position of the Articles, what their authority. We laymen find them bound up in our Prayer Books. We read that they are established. Yet we often hear clergymen speak of them in anything but terms of respect; such as, "The Thirty-nine Articles, oh, they are not binding; we do not have to subscribe to them, as they do in the English Church; they are not part of our ordination vows; why the seventeenth Article is pure nonsense." What does all this mean? Is it right for our clergymen to laugh among themselves at the Articles, as did the Roman augurs at some of their rites and ceremonies? If so, we of the laity would like to know just how far this "benefit of clergy" extends.

ART. III. OF THE GOING DOWN OF CHRIST INTO HELL.

"So also, it is to be believed that He went down into Hell." The Book of Common Prayer was established in 1790. The Thirty-nine Articles were adopted in America in 1801. By Article VIII. the Nicene and Apostles' Creed "ought thoroughly to be received and believed." Clearly, this means as provided to be read by the Convention establishing the Prayer Book. But that Convention expressly informs us, it need not be believed that Christ went down into Hell. How? The Nicene Creed contains no affirmation where Christ was during the three days. In this it follows the sacred historians. The Apostles' Creed has "He descended into Hell." But as to that clause it is expressly provided (see rubric), that we may omit it entirely. We are given our election between three

things. We may affirm "He descended into Hell;" we may instead use the words, "He went into the place of Departed Spirits," as being words of the same import; or we may, as is done in the Nicene Creed, make no affirmation on the subject at all. That is to say, we need not believe that Christ descended into Hell. But if not, why does the Church tell us in Article III. that it should be believed? Again, the word Hell has become an unfortunate word. What Professor Huxley so aptly called the Miltonic theory of the Universe has been exploded. The burning lake has disappeared. But the word Hell, as long as it is retained, tends to foster the old erroneous ideas clustering around it. There is no need for Article III. at all (so the rubric says). But if there be, why not adopt the scientific phraseology of Article I., simply say, He departed into the invisible world. The four narrators, who knew if any one, do not pretend to more exactness, why should the Church?

ARTICLE VI. OF THE SUFFICIENCY OF THE HOLY
SCRIPTURES FOR SALVATION.

Part of this article is our text. It is the key note of the whole score. It must always be held up to the theologians; quoted at them. They must be kept in perpetual remembrance of it. If ever, in a fight on their part, against any theory of science, they insist upon our believing something not to be found in the Bible, or if, for like reason, they insist on an interpretation of the Bible which is fanciful, strained, opposed to facts, to scientific discovery increasing our range of facts, let them be reminded, "Whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man." Let them read, mark, learn, inwardly digest those words, "may be proved thereby," for they justify the contentions of our preface, that interpretation, construction, are to theology what induction is to science. On its correctness

depends the whole structure. Just as the induction theory sometimes requires change of views, with a wider range of knowledge, so the construction theory may, with a wider range of knowledge, require likewise a change of views.

As to the Canonical Books recited in this article, the question is historical; hence not within the limit of this paper. It may be said, in passing, here is afforded a somewhat curious commentary on the doctrine of inspiration. The recital of the books of the Old Testament, the non-recital of the books of the New, prove the existence of a dispute as to the former, none as to the latter, to the extent that the question must be set at rest, in the one case by a formal recital, once for all, which is unnecessary in the latter. Uninspired men have disputed on what is inspired. Uninspired men have decided what is inspired, what is not! Inspiration then depends upon an uninspired *dixit*! This is purely a theological nut. Rome cracks it by her hammer of infallibility. How can Protestantism? It might be suggested, very humbly, whether, if Article VI. is ever revised, it would not be as well to put the "Song of Solomon" among the "other books"—say next to the "Story of Susanna and the Elders." If it is put there a great difficulty would be avoided. Theologians could then admit it to be a love song. But if you call it inspired you have to account for it on any theory but that. The usual one, that it is an allegory, and means the Church as the bride of Christ, is open to many difficulties, one of which is blasphemy. To an uninspired man it seems blasphemous to speak of the Church of God as possessing the attractions enumerated in Chapter VII., even though in allegory.

ARTICLE IX. OF ORIGINAL OR BIRTH SIN.

If ever the evolution theory becomes generally accepted, and many Divines are giving in their adherence to it in a modified form (see a paper by Dr.

McCosh, in the Princeton Review in 1881), this Article will have to be wholly rewritten, to conform to the teachings of that theory. Reference may again be made to the 15th chapter of the first Corinthians, as bearing a wonderful analogy to evolution. What is the transition from the corruptible to the incorruptible, from the earthly to the heavenly, but the evolution of the one from the other? Whenever evolution becomes accepted by the Church (it will be, if it is correct), the theologians reading this chapter in a new light, will doubtless point to it as a Divine confirmation of a theory, which for years they have been attacking as anti-scriptural. It may be too soon to recast Article IX. with reference to evolution. It may not be too soon to question the correctness of the phrase, "whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness," inasmuch as according to recent theological reasoning, he never had any. Development is the watchword of the theologians now. They say we deny evolution, it is opposed to the Bible, but we admit a development from ages back. But the development theory negatives just as strongly the originally righteous theory.

Genesis itself seems to show that Adam was not originally righteous, for it tells us he succumbed to his first temptation. Development as well as Evolution, necessitates the belief that men of the present day are better, morally as well as physically, than Adam ever was. If by original sin is simply meant, man's nature is and has always been imperfect, has in it the seeds of decay, that he "is of his own nature inclined to evil, so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the spirit," there could not be much dispute about it, our own consciousness enforces its truth.

But when you go further and affirm that Adam's sin is our *sin*, that we are sinful because Adam was righteous and fell, you—may be orthodox; but is orthodoxy in this case correct? is it logical? If Evolution be true, the time will come when theologians will be thankful that it is, for it will relieve them

from the doctrine of original sin as now taught. It will thereby save them from many an uneasy dilemma.

ARTICLE X. OF FREE-WILL.

This article and the XVII. on predestination, naturally should come together. Why they should be placed so far apart is hard to say, unless it was in the hope that their inconsistency would thereby be less manifest.

It is headed "Of Free-Will," but contains not a word upon the subject, except, perhaps, a denial by implication. If so, we are to understand we have no free-will; we are automatons, machines; we must move as we are moved. Did an ancestor of Herbert Spencer or Charles Darwin, have a hand in composing this article?

ARTICLE XVII. OF PREDESTINATION AND ELECTION.

Read this and Article X. together. What a boxing of the theological compass is here presented? Those good old divines, who quarreled so undivinely for a century over election and free-will, compromised their quarrel so beautifully that under the terms of these articles one can believe what one chooses, and be orthodox. You can have free-will to make election of what you please here. Talleyrand must have had these articles in mind when he said the purpose of language is to conceal thought. Strip off the verbiage. Get the kernel of every sentence. Man can do nothing of himself, no matter how much will he may have. God has decreed as to certain men He will do nothing, as to certain others He will. Although this is decreed "by His counsel secret to us," yet to godly persons, and to those who feel that they are godly (S. Paul never felt himself to be good, but, then, everybody is not like S. Paul), this is a great comfort; for to such persons this is an open secret.

But this doctrine of predestination is a pretty bad thing for those who can not affirm that they are godly, who do not feel the working of the Spirit of Christ, in fact this doctrine is like to hound such persons to desperation, making them worse than if there were no such doctrine. Finally, as if conscious of these dispiriting contradictions, as if conscious of breaking the twentieth article and expounding one place of Scripture so as to be repugnant to another (for when Christ said, "Come unto me, *all* ye that weary," He did not add, "those I have decreed to be damned may as well stay away"), they wind up with a very curious "Furthermore." Now, when we read this word "furthermore," we, of course, suppose some further statement is coming, some additional proposition. Nothing of the kind. "Furthermore, we must receive God's promises in such wise as they be generally set forth to us in Holy Scripture." So we must; but why say so especially in this connection? "And in our doings that Will of God is to be followed which we have expressly declared unto us in the Word of God." So it is; but why point it out at the tail of an article on predestination? Paraphrase this "furthermore" by expressing its spirit, and the "Biblical reason why" will appear. We feel we are a little mixed on this subject, a little mystical, a good deal contradictory; we have been trying to harmonize Calvinist and Arminian, and formulate their antagonistic doctrines in such a way as to get them compressed in these two articles; it has been a hard thing to do; we admit we have not succeeded very well; so, in order not to cause distress among the faithful, we will wind up with a general admonition, about which there can be no doubt or dispute, that you must receive what the Scriptures say, and follow what they declare; or, in other words, you can believe as much or as little of these two articles as you think you find to be generally set forth in Scripture. And so it is to this day, our theologians continue their differences on election

and free-will, unhampered by articles which set forth both, either or neither, as the reader may choose or elect. If an article is needed on the subject, why not affirm, there is such a thing as free-will? Why? Because we are all conscious, in the depths of our souls, that we possess a free-will. There is such a thing as predestination. Why? Because we are all conscious, in the depths of our souls, we are wofully circumscribed, hampered, our free agency is in some mysterious way limited. Why not declare, in so many words, there is a mystery here, which we, theologians though we be, can not explain, try as we will; an apparent irreconcilability which we can not "down," try as we may; something which God in His wisdom has not seen fit to make clear. Perhaps, if the evolution theory turn out to be correct, it may help to solve this mystery, perhaps not. But let the Church declare it to be a problem which it can not solve. S. Paul said of a mystery he did not intend or know how to explain, "Behold, I show you a mystery." So, free-will and election are mysteries. The tenth and seventeenth articles are mystifications?

ARTICLE XXIII. OF MINISTERING IN THE CONGREGATION.

Two propositions are here laid down; it is not lawful for any man to take on himself the office of preaching and ministering before he becomes lawfully called and sent; those are lawfully called and sent who are chosen and called by men who have public authority to do so. It will be observed, two things are necessary, a choice and a sending. Do the men in the Church, who have authority to choose and send, always exercise a choice? The bishop, at the ordering of priests and deacons, casts that choice on the presenting presbyter; for he tells him to take heed that the persons he presents are apt and meet, for their learning and godly conversation, to exercise their ministry duly to

the honor of God and the edifying of His Church. The presbyter gives his word that he has inquired and examined them, and thinks them so to be. Then to make it doubly sure the bishop adjures all the people present that if any of them know any impediment to come forward and show it. It often happens that persons present do know of impediments, which cannot but hinder the exercise of the ministry duly, will not make it to the honor of God, and anything but the edifying of His Church. They are a class of impediments, however, which never seem to come under the range of the priestly eye: lack of fitness, of common sense, of influence over men, a marplot disposition, bigotry, narrow mindedness, foolishness, light mindedness evinced by an inordinate love of croquet and lawn tennis at fashionable watering places; phrased in the people's parlance, "a pretty man for a parson." But the people, having such knowledge, are polite; they do not wish to interrupt the proceedings, it would cause a stir; they sit still. The incompetent is ordained, and exhibits his impediments all through life, neither to the honor of God nor the edifying of His Church. How does this stand proved? Because of the general complaints against the clergy? No; that is not a fair ground. It is proved because the clergyman is no longer, except in isolated cases, the leader of his congregation in its thought or his work. They lead; he follows. Is it no use to say the congregations have become too independent; for they are not independent under a leader. They rate a man at his worth. Some of the clergy have a great influence, not only over the work but over the thought of their parishes; not only over religious thought but scientific, general thought. It would be well if more choice were exercised in the way of rejection. Why, the very presbyter, who presents the candidates and answers that he thinks them to be fit, will often have a slight mental reservation in the form of a prayer: that John Doe as he grows older may grow in grace,

and have a little more common sense; that Richard Roe may not be so light minded, and may learn not to care so much for tennis; that John Styles may become less bigoted; that Jacob Fen the moment he hears of a new scientific theory will not be quick to say, it cannot be true; it is opposed to the Bible; that he will read before he condemns. Beware, let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall!

Attention should be called to the twenty-eighth article, as it furnishes an illustration for the position that theology is not an exact science. It affirms that Transubstantiation is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, yet for centuries, that was a dogma considered very precious to the believer. By one great, powerful Church it is still maintained. If a scientist had existed in the middle ages and affirmed that science demonstrated there was no such thing as Transubstantiation, the theologian of that day would have burned him, crying out that he was a blasphemer. His denial of the doctrine would have been repugnant to the Bible. Faith has changed since then, theology has grown, has evolved itself out of this tenet. Now it is the tenet which is repugnant to the Bible. What has happened before may happen again. Further discoveries may cause further changes. We need not take alarm at this. Of one thing we are sure, truth is truth; it will never change. Pilate's question "What is truth?" which, be it noted, Christ did not answer, has always been, will always be, the great question, till we attain the "fullness of knowledge." Of another thing we may be sure, whatever of truth we now possess will never be taken from us. If the Bible be true, science will confirm it. It has already done much. It has given us a stronger argument for the miracles than ever the theologians furnished—apart from the testimony of eye witnesses, which, however honest the witnesses may be, is not always conclusive testimony. That argument is drawn from what is being done among us now in every day matters, which are just as wonderful. Take the telephone

back to the time of Christ; show it to the guests at the wedding at Cana; show them the water turned into wine; let them taste that wine; let them put their ear to a small tube, and recognize the voice of a friend they know to be miles distant; then ask those guests which they think to be the more miraculous! This does not belittle the miracles. It serves to teach us a strong ground on which they can stand, that Christ brought into play some law of nature of which we know nothing.

Science also aids Protestantism against all the attempts of the Roman Church to reënslave *Christendom*. Macaulay all but predicted that she would finally triumph over Protestantism. But Macaulay did not take into account science, which makes such a reënslavement impossible. Away, then, with the cry of conflict between science and the Bible. Our faith cannot be shaken. There is no conflict of God with Himself. Let not man's errors be called God's truths. If there be a seeming conflict between science and theology, let us not be guilty of a misnomer, as Draper was, and call it a conflict between science and religion or between science and the Bible. Call it what it is, a conflict between a theory of science based on an induction from facts, and a dogma of theology based on a construction of words. Then ascertain by means of our reason, God-given for the purpose, whether the induction or the construction be wrong. If there appear no way, if each seems well established, let us wait in serenity for further light.

Lastly, it is highly pertinent to inquire whether an article should not be added, defining the attitude of the Church toward science. In the sixteenth century when the Thirty-nine articles were evolved out of the chaos which preceded their final adoption, there was no such thing as science. There was neither need of such an article, nor knowledge on which to base it. To-day it is a vital question of the hour. The people are alive upon the subject. They hear of

important theories advanced by scientific men. They hear shrieks of alarm at once raised by theologians. They are pained to see their religious leaders first assume such theories to be opposed to Scripture, then endeavoring to prove them false by Scripture. The people know this to be illogical. They know, if any new theory be incorrect, science itself will discard it; if correct, will confirm it; if confirmed, then their religious leaders, turning completely round, will vie with each other in squaring their Bibles to conform therewith. The people know this has happened before and will happen again. When the people hear the theory of evolution fulminated against in the pulpit, why is it that they sit in apathetic coldness? It is because they say to themselves, evolution may be all wrong, but it may be right. We will not be blind followers led by blind leaders into a ditch. We will suspend our judgment. But the people would like to know one thing, where does the Church stand on this all important subject, this great question of the nineteenth century, the relation between science and theology? Is the Church truly represented by alarmist divines? Is the Church in antagonism with science? Does the Church recognize the fact that the scientist is as earnestly, as patiently, as faithfully seeking the answer to Pilate's question as are they who minister at her Altar?

If by an authoritative article, it is declared that the spheres of scientist and theologian are correlative, that induction in the one and deduction in the other are mutual aids to correct conclusions in both, no more will be heard of any conflict between them. Then will cease the spectacle now so deplorably prevalent of puny man setting at war the works and the word of his Creator. Then will appear fresh significance in the words of the Psalmist, "O Lord, how glorious are thy works! thy thoughts are very deep. An unwise man doth not well consider this, and a fool doth not understand it."

JOHN BROOKS LEAVITT.

WHAT SAYS EGYPT OF ISRAEL?

The Cities of Egypt. By Reginald Stuart Poole, of the British Museum, London: 1883.

The Egypt of the Past. By Erasmus Wilson, F. R. S., London: 1881.

The Exodus and Monumental Egypt. By Dr. Henry Brugsch. Edited by Francis H. Underwood, Boston: 1880.

History of Ancient Egypt. By George Rawlinson. Two Vols. New York: 1882.

THE "Uarda" of to-day is altogether "a different story" from what any Uarda of forty years ago could have been. For now we see the Egypt of Rameses II. reflected in Eber's fascinating book, and quite as accurately reproduced, for example, as are "The Last Days of Pompeii," in Bulwer's novel of that name. That strange, huge face above the sands,

staring right on, with calm eternal eyes,

may keep its secret, if secret it has, but the Nile is no longer a geographical perplexity, and the thousand-mile strips of cultivated land along its banks have been so delved and their archæological disclosures so mathematically and synthetically deciphered, that some of the pages in our histories of the Pharaohs are quite as clear and fresh as some we have of the times of the Plantagenets.

Egyptology is doing more than inspire romance, enrich archæology, fill up historical voids, and bring to light the wholesome ethics that antedated both Christ and Moses. "King Pharaoh has now become Defender

of the Faith," said perhaps a score of years ago, was not the rhetoric of religious enthusiasm. And to-day we may assert that Egyptology has nothing in hand to disprove the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, or the essential features of their entry into, life in, and exit from, the land of the Pharaohs, as narrated by Moses; while, positively, monumental and other records, topographical information, coincidental evidence, analogous thought and material, are not wanting to answer at length the question: WHAT SAYS EGYPT OF ISRAEL? The reply here must be condensed and salient.

The four books specified above, stamped each by individuality and a definite object, are happily combinative for pursuing a course of study upon ancient Egypt. The "*Cities of Egypt*" is particularly instructive and stimulating to beginners (books on ancient Egypt are usually ponderous), and touches deftly and charmingly on both national and personal characteristics. An index is wanting.

As clear and well-arranged a text-book on the subject as exists is that of Mr. Wilson, who modestly says, in the preface: "We claim nothing of all herein contained, as our own;" to which we add: His treatment of the subject and methods are *his own* and admirably presented.

The little book, satisfactorily edited by Mr. Underwood, is taken from Dr. Brugsch's invaluable "*Egypt under the Pharaohs*;" while Rawlinson, now a standard, needs no introduction here. The reproduced American edition is superior to the English in type and illustration.

Mr. Poole, while commending Brugsch and quoting him largely, does not always reach his conclusions; indeed he is quite judicial at times. Mr. Rawlinson is conservative—a scholar rather than discoverer—while Dr. Brugsch, both scholar and explorer, is quick to take a clue and quick to follow it up. The great German Egyptologist personifies patience and brilliancy—the patience of Lepsius and brilliancy of Mariette.

Of the thirty-one dynasties of kings, now assigned to Egypt, from Menes to the conquest by Alexander the Great, those between the twelfth and eighteenth, with the nineteenth, chiefly concern us here. "The Middle Empire," when the Hyksos or Shepherd Kings ruled the land in part or whole, occupies a period somewhere between the twelfth and eighteenth dynasties. "The New Empire" began with the eighteenth dynasty, and during the succeeding dynasty the great oppression and exodus of the Israelites occurred. In all probability the Hyksos usurpation covered a period of about 500 years*—as given by Brugsch, Poole and Wilson—although just how long many of the individual reigns lasted is unknown to us. Mr. Wilson's table (p. 448-9) assigns to the thirteenth dynasty seven Pharaohs of one name and one of another name; to the fourteenth dynasty, the list Manetho made; to the fifteenth dynasty, six Hyksos kings, who are named; to the sixteenth dynasty, ten Hyksos kings, of whom Nubti alone is named; to the seventeenth dynasty, three Hyksos kings, whose names have survived.

But breaks or uncertainties in the regal chronology of a nation of the past do not necessarily make an unknown void in its contemporaneous life and work—particularly in the case of Egypt. What the cautious Rawlinson observes is applicable to the above remark: "Where a nation is isolated, or where its history at any rate is unmixed with other histories, and flows on in its own separate channel without contact with any neighboring stream, the need of exact chronology is much less, and a considerable vagueness in the dates may be tolerated."

Manetho, now shown to have been more accurate, in the main, for his time—B. C. 323-285—than early

* Rawlinson, however, reduces it to about 200 years (Vol. II., p. 23). But Brugsch and others do not assert that the Hyksos ruled Egypt 500 years: for much of the time they controlled only the Eastern Delta. See Wilson, p. 183. See, also, Rawlinson's admission, Vol. II., p. 188.

Egyptologists allowed, mentions the first six Shepherd Kings, the first of whom at the close of the fourteenth dynasty assumed complete and personal control of Upper and Lower Egypt. He tells us, according to Josephus, that these kings came of a wild and rough people, from the countries of the East, and that the whole people bore the name of Hyksos, "*hyk* meaning king, and *sos*, a shepherd."* Brugsch intimates his belief that the name came from Shasu, the region east of Egypt occupied by the pastoral Bedouins, and from Hak, a sub-king. He suggests that after the usurpers were expelled Hak (or Hyk) was tacked on as a nickname in contempt.† He comes to the conclusion "that the irruption of the foreigners into Egypt was made by the Syrians, who, in their campaigns through the arid deserts, found in the Shasu-Arabs welcome allies who well knew the country." Rawlinson says: "We lean to the belief that the so-called Hyksos or 'Shepherds' were Hittites, who * * * moved southward, and obtaining allies along their line of route, burst like an avalanche upon Egypt."

Everything shows that the Hyksos invaders met with no prolonged or national resistance; and Manetho's recital of their destructiveness and barbarities may be received with considerable allowance, when we consider that he was intensely Egyptian in his prejudices, and as such depicted the period of humiliation in his country's history.‡

These now verified facts bear directly and indirectly upon the Israelitish sojourn: the Hyksos Kings ruled the Delta east of the Nile, their civil capitol being Zoan, an fortified post on the eastern frontier, Avaris.

* Brugsch, pp. 95, 97.

† See Wilson—foot note— p. 185.

‡ Manetho, quoted by Wilson, p. 184, and comments following. "Egypt under the Pharaohs," Vol I., p. 237. Rawlinson, Vol. II., pp. 199-201. Joseph's Pharaoh (Apopi) is "a mild, civilized, and somewhat luxurious king." *Ibid*, p. 210.

The neighborhood of Zoan was the starting-point for the great Exodus, which must have occurred after the expulsion of the Hyksos, and may be assigned to a period in the nineteenth dynasty. The Hyksos worshipped, as their supreme god, Set, identified with the Semitic Baal; the usurpers, while using the official and illustrative language of the Egyptians, and patronizing Egyptian sculptures and arts, left their Semitic impress on many things.

After the expulsion of the Hyksos, the common people, more or less blended with the old Egyptian stock,* remained, and, as Poole states, with reference to the Eastern Delta, "from Abraham's time to our own, a brave people, larger in bone and stronger in muscle, and of broader shoulders than the Egyptians, and of a more independent temper, has pastured its herds in the vast luxuriant plain, and fished the prolific waters of the great eastern lake."

As instances of the Semitic impress to which I have referred, we find the Hyksos monuments patterned after the Egyptian models, while the costumes and head-dresses have distinctly their own Semitic casting. If Germany had occupied Italy in the age of Raphael, we should see the Germanic impress on the Italian arts and architecture of his day. The wingéd Sphinx, introduced to Egypt by the foreigners, is a striking example of the new forms and shapes given to Egyptian sculpture.

Why have we no monumental list of the Hyksos kings? Partly because the ruins of the cities of the Delta have been little explored or exhumed. Zoan is a case in point, and Poole truly says, "It will be hard to gain any knowledge of the city on the spot, until some one shall have taken the pains to dig into the vast mounds which cover a storehouse of historic treasure, almost certainly containing contemporary records of the sojourn, the oppression, and the Exodus

*Many of them as captives in war. See Rawlinson, Vol. II., p. 213.

of the Hebrews. The book is there; who will reach down his hand for it, and open and read its ancient pages?"

The other, and, I think, chief cause is to be found in the deliberate and energetic efforts of the kings of the eighteenth dynasty to efface the names of the usurpers, and to supply their own. The colossal sphinxes of the Louvre, the stone at Boulak, the lion found near Bagdad, the statue at Mukhdam, are signal instances of this scratching with a high hand for a low purpose.

Notwithstanding this, two of the royal names have been deciphered, and they differ little from Manetho's—, Apopi or Apopa on the tablet, and Aphopis in his history, and the king Nubti or Nub, who, according to Brugsch, reigned about 1750 B. C., or a little before Joseph came into his office under Apopi.* The tablet of red granite, known as Nubti's Tablet,† was found in the temple of San-Tanis (Zoan) dedicated to the god Set. King Nubti took the official name of "Set, the powerful." Inquires Brugsch, "Was it the intention of the foreign prince to be prayed to as the god Set?" This tablet is dated by Rameses II., who erected it, 400 years after Nubti, who is thought to have established a calendar beginning with his own reign. Now that Rameses II. and Mineptah are generally accepted to have been the monarchs of the Great Oppression and the Exodus, the 400 or 430 years before the Exodus (according to Gen. xv. 13, or Exodus xii. 40) take us back to the immigration of Jacob *under a*

* Josephus puts Apophis, or Apopi, in the fifteenth dynasty, but Africanus and the Armenian Eusebius put him as the last in the Manethonian list of the Hyksos Kings. And the latter are in agreement with the monumental and other records. A word here upon the use of Egyptian royal names: Other things, such as accuracy, being equal, the writer prefers Apopi (Brugsch) to Apepi, Thothmes to Thotmes or Thutmes, Mineptah or Menepthah to Merenptah, and Rameses (for dignity) to Ramses, &c., &c.

† Described by Wilson, p. 301. Translated by Birch, "Records of the Past," vol. iv.

Hyksos King. The year when Rameses erected the Nubti tablet is not known; his reign, however, lasted 67 years,* and Joseph lived to be 110 years old; so that without any chronological discrepancy Apopi could have been Joseph's Pharoah, and, indeed, Joseph have outlived him, as is commonly accepted.† Remarks Brugsch:

This singular coincidence of numbers, as we openly admit, appears to us to have a higher value than the data fixed on the grounds of particular calculations of the chronological tables of Manetho and the fathers of the Church. * * * * * Independently of every kind of arrangement and combination of numbers, they prove the probability of a fixed date for a very important section of the general history of the world on the grounds of two chronological data, which in a most striking way correspond with one another, and of which each separately has its origin in an equally trustworthy and respectable source.‡

Both Manetho and the Apopi of the deciphered cartouche are supported by the invaluable First Sallier Papyrus in the British Museum, which preserves the name of Apopi, and gives an inkling into the relations between Joseph's Pharoah and Upper Egypt. Let us condense the record.§ Sekenen, a descendant of the oppressed Pharaohs, reigned as Hak or subking at Thebes, tributary to Apopi. "King Apopi in the town of Avaris," runs the record. Apopi sent word to Sekenen to relinquish the worship of the Egyptian gods except Amon, which Sekenen respectfully declined to do. Then followed a second message, which (probably as a pretext) had reference to a well for cattle or the stoppage of a canal.

Note the greeting of Sekenen to the messenger: "Who sent thee to the Southern region; hast thou come hither as a spy?" Or, as Brugsch translates it,

* Wilson, p. 273. Rawlinson, Vol. II., p. 334.

† Rawlinson, Vol. II., 253.

‡ P. 127. His entire presentation of the case (pp. 125-7) is clear and convincing.

§ "Egypt under the Pharaohs," Vol. I., pp. 231-244.

"Ye are spies, and ye are come to see where the land is open," that is, naked. How like the greeting of Joseph to his brethren!—"Ye are spies; to see the nakedness of the land ye are come." Apopi's third message breaks off in the beginning, and we are left to conjecture what he said. So much for a torn papyrus; but half a loaf is better than none.

Beyond question, the mutilated document* treats of the causes which led to the uprising of the Egyptians against the foreigners, discoursing upon minor matters also. Sekenen had two successors known as the patriot kings, bearing his name, who warred with Apopi. One of them built a Nile flotilla to descend upon the Egyptian Netherlands, and its commander was "a Captain Aahmes," who lived to serve "under his royal namesake of the eighteenth dynasty, Aahmes I." At El-kab, 52 miles south of Thebes, is a tomb which contains a long inscription relating to the great services of Aahmes under four successive kings. But a few words from it relating to the defeat of the Hyksos at Avaris, which the Egyptians besieged, can here be given: "My father was a captain of the deceased Ra Sekenen. * * * * Then I became captain in his place. * * * * They besieged the town of Avaris. * * * * Conquered Avaris."

Were the tombs of the Sekenens undiscovered, we know at least of their existence at Thebes, for "In the Abbot papyrus, which is among the most valuable treasures of the British Museum, the burial places of these Pharaohs are mentioned."†

Some years ago the mummy case and mummy of Queen Aahotep were found at Thebes, and, upon the

* Brugsch, p. 114. Poole, p. 72. Says the latter: "In the reign of Apopi, the Theban kings, possibly discontented with Joseph's strong rule, began to make head against their foreign overlords." Wilson, p. 189.

† "Egypt under the Pharaohs," Vol. I, p. 247.

wood of the coffin, two little ships in gold and silver, bronze axes, and great bangles for the ankles.*

She was the mother and wife of the Pharaoh Aahmes who descended the Nile, with an army and navy, captured Avaris and drove out the Hyksos. Says Brugsch: "Aah-hotep is therefore the proper ancestress of the eighteenth dynasty." My reference to Aahotep, in the line of discussion, is to call attention to the little ships in gold and silver placed conspicuously upon the wood of the coffin (not within, or in wraps) of the royal woman in whose time a *naval flotilla* was an essential element of the war of independence.†

Although I know of no writer who refers to this as a coincidental proof or circumstance, it is to me quite striking as such.

Under Aahmes the Hebrews simply changed rulers. What part they took in the war he waged for five years against the Hyksos, we can only conjecture; and indeed, "for above two centuries," according to Poole, "from the death of Joseph to the birth of Aaron * * * we have scarcely any hint of the state of the Hebrews.‡

"Here again," insists he, "is a cogent reason for exploration of sites in this district."

A few words upon the influence of the Hyksos domination upon Egypt for good. "They established throughout the territory a uniform system for mili-

* Besides which were found, between the wraps and on the body, various articles attesting "that arts and manufactures were not allowed to flag during the reign of Aahmes" (Wilson, p. 196). Says Brugsch (p. 122): "The richest and most precious of the ornaments showed the shields of the Pharaoh Aahmes."

† Rawlinson (Vol. II., pp. 212-13), graphically outlines the work of the army supported by a fleet, or the fleet by an army.

‡ The Israelites could not have been an important military element—at least numerically—in the war for Egyptian independence, under Aahmes. Jacob's colony of 70 persons, with (probably) their attendants, could not have so multiplied as to be an important fraction of the (perhaps) five millions of population in Upper and Lower Egypt.

tary and revenue purposes," remarks Rawlinson, "and did much to crush out that spirit of isolation and provincialism which had hitherto been the bane of Egypt, and had prevented its coalescing firmly into a settled homogeneous monarchy. * * * * Thus the blow by which the power of Egypt had seemed to be shattered and prostrated worked ultimately for its advancement, and the Hyksos domination may be said to have produced the glories of the Later Empire." And Brugsch, supported in his view of the case by Wilson and Poole, pointedly says of the alleged vandalism of the "Southern Tartars," as somebody called the Hyksos, "We will simply put the question, If those foreign kings were in fact desecrators of the temples, devastators and destroyers of the works of by-gone ages, how is it that these ancient works, although only the last remains of them, still exist, and especially in the chief seats of the Hyksos dominion; and further, that these foreign kings allowed their names to be engraved as memorial witnesses on the works of the native Pharaohs? Instead of destroying they preserved them, and sought by appropriate measures to perpetuate themselves and their remembrance on the monuments already existing of former rulers."

Everything indicates a high degree of national progress and civilization for Egypt from the middle era of Hyksos rule to the immigration of Jacob. Canon Cook, in his *Excursus upon Exodus* in the *Speaker's Commentary*, says: "The Pharaoh of Joseph was unquestionably Lord of all Egypt;* the country was in a state of great prosperity; the religion, all the usages and institutions of the Pharaoh and his cour-

*He, however, uses this language to argue against Joseph's Pharaoh having been a Hyksos (p. 449); and he assigns that honor, after showing how troubled he was to come to any conclusion, to Amenemhat III, the last king but one of the twelfth dynasty. But his *Excursus*, republished in the American ed. of 1872, was of course, prior to recent discoveries and researches.

tiers were those of ancient Egypt." The words of Wilson upon the Hyksos Pharaohs—applicable to Joseph's Pharaoh—may almost be dovetailed with the foregoing, except that there is a distinction between "the religion" and "the religious observances," not to be overlooked; for the essential dogma of the Hyksos was the *one* god, Set, not dissimilar in idea to the modern Allah—"there is one God"—of the Moslems. Wilson says: "They fell quickly and naturally into the customs and even the religious observances of Egypt; temples were raised to the Egyptian gods; the temples, judging from their ruins, must have been as magnificent as those of their predecessors," etc.*

We will take up some of the Egyptian analogies or correspondences, which, aside from an independent argument, quite conclusive, harmonize the Mosaic and Pharaonic records.

Camels have not been found on the monuments, although Moses speaks of them in connection with Abraham's visit to Pharaoh. Now, we know that in all probability it was a Hyksos king, or one who ruled in the Delta, who entertained the illustrious "sheik." How do we account for the Mosaic statement that Rebecca and Tamar were veiled (like other Eastern women), and yet when Rebecca was in Egypt, she was seen by the princes and commended to Pharaoh? The monuments represent women as unveiled; only after the Persian invasion (B. C. 340), were the Egyptianesses veiled.

Look at the caravan-folk who bought Joseph. They carry "spicery, balm and myrrh" to Egypt; imported by the Egyptians; invaluable for embalming and ceremonial uses. Pliny's *Botanical List* of Egypt does not mention these articles. Joseph was sold to Potiphar as a slave; it was the most likely thing for the traders to speculate on Joseph; the

* P. 185. See Rawlinson in support of this, Vol. II, pp. 200-1.

monuments prove there were slaves, and those of Semitic origin. Joseph's interpretation of the butler's dream implies the existence of vines and use of wine in Egypt; the Israelites in the desert hankered after the vines of Egypt. To the "impossible" of Von Bohlen and others who asserted that the vine did not grow in Egypt nor the people drink wine, the Mosaic finger points to Beni Hassan and El-kab where vintages and vintaging are fully delineated. We may even judge how the Pharaonic Hamburgs were "put on" as dessert, and there is a cartoon of two diners-out returning home, "half-Nile over," as I suppose "half-seas over" was then rendered.

Pharaoh's dream of the seven fat and seven lean kine, and the seven rank and seven thin ears of corn, is as natural a narrative as can be. The buffaloes feeding among the reeds "upon the brink of the river," and not in the meadow; the cow, an Egyptian symbol of fruitfulness; the corn to Egypt almost what rice is to modern India; the corn officially stored away in the granaries, as the monumental illustrations delineate,—these are genuine local colorings. Joseph's sending "meat for his father by the way," long disputed on the ground that the Egyptians did not eat meat, now receives confirmation from the sculptures of cattle-slaughtering. I have a photograph of a sculptured Egyptian abattoir that I saw. Why did Joseph shave himself previous to going before Pharaoh? Although the nations of the East wore beards, the Egyptians shaved, and Joseph simply conformed to the etiquette of the land, particularly of the court. Nothing is said by Moses of Jacob's having a coffin, while he particularly notes that Joseph "was put in a coffin in Egypt."*

A stone sarcophagus would have been quite out of the question for the anticipated desert journey.

* See Speaker's Commentary, Vol. I, p. 235.

"And they spoiled the Egyptians,"* taken in connection with Exodus III, 22, is almost a verbal photograph (to use a modern word) of the jewelled ladies of the monuments—in rings, bracelets, necklaces, etc.,—before handing over their "jewels of silver, and jewels of gold," to the Hebrewesses. To this day Egyptian women often carry their "fortunes" about with them in trinkets—commonly of coin in some form. What accurately-drawn irony in the taunt to Moses, "Because there were no graves in Egypt, hast thou taken us away to die in the wilderness?" No graves!

Brugsch points out a somewhat striking coincidence between the narrative of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, in Genesis, and that of a certain Anepu's wife and a comely youth named Bata, in the tale of "Two Brothers," written for Mineptah III., the king succeeding the Pharaoh of the Exodus†. He regards the tale as "a most precious and important elucidation of the history of Joseph in Egypt."

"God hath made me lord of all Egypt," Joseph's word to Jacob, recalls to the Egyptian student the narrative of Saneha, or Sineh, who must have held under Amenemhat I., of the twelfth dynasty, a position like that of Joseph under his Pharaoh.‡ So at a later period—over 200 years after Joseph—we find Horemheb, according to the account of a monument at Turin, clothed with the same viceregal power, becoming heir to the throne, and at the death of the Pharaoh succeeding him. These transactions show how natural it was for Joseph to have found favor in his king's sight, and been made lord of all Egypt.

* Exodus, xii, 36.

† P. 134. Canon Cook says, in the Speaker's Commentary: "The story abounds throughout with illustrations of the narrative in the Pentateuch."

‡ Wilson, p. 142-6. The papyrus of the "Two Brothers," known as the d'Orbinney, is in the British Museum; and that about Saneha ("Egypt under the Pharaohs," vol. I., p. 126) at Berlin.

We will now revert to Pharaoh's dream.

The seven years of plenty indicate extraordinary risings of the Nile. Have we monumental and geological proof of such risings? At Sumneh is a register of eighteen risings of the Nile in the reign of Amenemhat III., in the twelfth dynasty, and of five risings in the reign of his immediate successors. The highest rise then is put at over twenty-six feet above the highest of modern times, and the lowest thirteen and a half feet above the highest modern flood, the average being about twenty-four feet higher than that of to-day; "that is to say, sixty-two and a half feet in the past and only thirty-eight and a half feet at the present.* The account by Lepsius of this Nilometer of Amenemhat, an Egyptian monarch renowned in the arts of peace, is interesting reading, particularly for the object I have in view.†

Wilkinson subsequently discovered vast tracts of Nile alluvium, and even as far down as Gebel Silsilis patches of loam—all far beyond the risings of the river at present. There were seasons of extraordinary plenty during that period of Egyptian history, such as Joseph, according to Moses, foretold and occurred in the former's lifetime.

But this is not all. At El-kab, near the tomb of "Captain" Aahmes, is the tomb of Baba, whose inscription runs, "The chief at the table of Princes." In the record of his deeds is this: "And now when a famine arose, lasting many years, I issued out corn to the city at each famine," or, as may be translated, "to each hungry person." This Baba lived under Sekenen‡ about the time Joseph was governor under a Hyksos king. Brugsch considers the "many years," taken in connection with the context, to refer to a definite historical time. A *succession* of famines,

* Wilson, p. 171.

† Lepsius' Letters, Appendix, pp. 508-22.

‡ Which of the three successive Sekenens I will not here assert. See Wilson, p. 191; Rawlinson, vol. II., p. 205; Brugsch, p. 132.

owing to a deficiency of water, was of the greatest rarity. Taking the data and circumstances together, I put the pertinent inquiry, Can this extraordinary famine in Baba's record be other than the one in which Joseph figured? Recall, too, the language Joseph used to his brethren, and the similar greeting of Sekenen to Apopi's messenger, and how Kings Apopi and Sekenen, Baba and Joseph are chronologically united to our clear retrospection!*

The monk Syncellus (about A. D. 800), in his *Chronographia* (vol 1, p. 62), states that Joseph ruled at the time of Apopi, and that this tradition was then "received by the whole world." As Rawlinson remarks of Syncellus, he was "a writer whose extensive learning and entire honesty are unquestionable."

The period from Joseph to the Great Oppression will now be illustrated by both poetry and prose. A poem in honor of Thothmes III. and the god Amon, on the granite tablet now at Boulak, and the poet Pentaur's pæan upon Rameses II., contain lines which remind us of the grand lyric of Moses after the overthrow of Pharaoh's host. I cull a few sentences at random from the former:

I give thee power and victory over all lands.
 All people shall feel a terror before thy soul,
 And shall fear thee to the utmost ends of the world,
 To the four props of Heaven.
 I have taken away from their nostrils the breath of life.
 I make thy manly courage penetrate even to their hearts.
 My crown on thy head is a consuming fire,
 A burning fire in their hearts, and in their limbs a trembling.

Also from Pentaur's magnificent tribute to Rameses, found on temple walls and in a roll of papyrus:

A hundred thousand sank before his glance. Terrible is he when his war-cry resounds, fiercer than the whole world, ferocious as the grim lion in the valley of the gazelles. * * * Not one of their

* "The only just conclusion is that the many years of famine in the time of Baba must precisely correspond with the seven years of famine under Joseph's Pharaoh."—Brugsch.

riders raised his hand to flight; their courage was sunken within their breasts, their limbs gave way, they could neither hurl the dart nor had they courage to thrust with the spear. * * * I appeared like the sun-god at his rising in the early morning; my shining beams were a consuming fire to the limbs of the wicked.

Upon the Hebrews familiar with these hymns of rejoicing, and particularly upon Moses, "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," these and other "Te Deums" must have had a strong lyrical and linguistic effect. At any rate, we must notice the Egyptian finish as well as Semitic vigor in the Song of Moses.

Just as we have in the famous mural pictures at Beni Hassan (and elsewhere) the Semitic and Hebrew visages, so in the poems and inscriptions of the days when Semites settled in the land and the Israelites dwelt in Goshen, we have the linguistic proofs of the presence and influence of foreigners in the land. And concerning this immigration-scene at Beni Hassan, so like the caravan of Jacob at a later day, Canon Cook does not exaggerate, as I recall the vivid representation,† in saying: "The features of the family, their color, and their costume, a rich tunic, or 'coat of many colors,' are thoroughly Semitic."

The prose is of the severest kind—brickmaking. Well do I remember the lively touches, in a pictorial illustration, given to a monotonous business. The laborers are prisoners from Palestine or Syria, which Thothmes III. at that time held in subjection. They carry the water in jugs, break up the ground with hoes, knead the clay, form the bricks in a mould and lay them out to dry. Two "taskmasters" watch the business, stick in hand; the one standing up is about to touch smartly the bare shoulders of a workman.

† "A translation cannot equal the power and beauty of the original." * * * The Mosaic language exhibits to us an exact counterpart of the Egyptian mode of speech. "Egypt under the Pharaohs," vol. II., p. 52.

‡ The writer spent five months in Egypt and Palestine.

He says, "The stick is in my hand, be not idle." Compare this with Exodus v, 13: "And the taskmasters hasted them, saying, Fulfill your works, your daily tasks, as when there was straw." This Theban-tomb representation in all probability does not depict a scene from the Hebrew servitude,* but it does illustrate precisely how the Pharaohs treated those whom they oppressed. The making of sunburnt bricks and building of temples—even cities, like Zoan—on a wholesale scale, from this Thothmes to the Exodus, was undoubtedly the forced labor of slaves, captives, and the fellaheen of the land. The great oppression of the Hebrews, which lasted eighty years, probably began some two centuries after this brickmaking picture was executed. Rameses scented the great danger to Egypt from so strong a colony as the Hebrews: so he not only tried to keep them under, but he put them where they could "be of the most use" to him.†

Chabas‡ refers to Papyrus Anastasi, No. III, which paints a similar "likeness" to the Scriptural picture. Twelve men engaged in the fields in making bricks, having neglected their task "of producing their tale of bricks every day," were set to work in building a house. The order is given, "Let there be no relaxation that they should make their number of bricks daily in the new house in the same manner, to obey the message sent by my lord." Now "my lord," Moses' Pharaoh, was of the same mind when he said, "Let there more work be laid upon the men, that they labor therein."

The "Pithom and Raamses," built by the Israelites

* So "the best critics of the present day" think. See Rawlinson, vol. II, p. 251.

† Exodus I, 7-15. "In all this," says Poole, "Rameses saw a danger. The State was fast becoming oriental. What, if the old masters should win again what they had lost? * * * Hence the great persecution" (p. 78).

‡ Wilkinson, Vol. I, chap. V, p. 343.

as treasure or store cities, have been verified by Brugsch and others. Their sites and ruins—assuredly of the latter city, known also as Zoan—have been identified. The past spring has witnessed the solution of an important problem—the final and, we believe, positive proof that the Pithom of Moses and Brugsch are the same. “M. Naville,” of the Egyptian Exploration Fund Society, “has now completed the examination of Pithom,” states the secretary, Mr. Poole, in *John Bull*. These points are clearly established by M. Naville: First, Pithom bore before the Roman time the name of store city, such as is assigned to the place in Exodus I, 11; the names ‘treasure’ and ‘store’ being of the same meaning or interpretation. This alone is a new and striking confirmation of the accuracy of Exodus—thanks to the inscription M. Naville found. Second, remarking upon the confirmation by Naville that Pithom was built by Rameses, Poole touches upon the accordance of historical conditions. He says: “The Egyptian monuments give us two Pharaohs, the earlier of whom, Rameses II, reigned some months over sixty-seven years. The characters of the two—the stern tyrant Rameses and his vacillating shadow Mineptah—are even traceable in the stereotyped phrases of their inscriptions, though not as clearly as in the lively portrayal of the narrative of Exodus.” Third, the surmise of Naville that two sphinxes, a double tablet, fragments of a *naos*, and a group of Rameses II, and two gods, brought to Ismailia,* came from Pithom, is correct. Fourth, that a great step in the synchronization of Egyptian and Biblical history has been made as the result of the examination of Pithom.

Our interest in Zoan is great. Here dwelt the Pharaohs of the oppression with their royal courts; here Mineptah witnessed “the miracles in Egypt,” and “the wonders in the field of Zoan.” A letter in the

* Described by Maspero in the *Revue Archeologique* (1878).

British Museum, written by Panbesa, a scribe, in the heat of the oppression, vividly depicts the beauties and attractions of this Egyptian Damascus; recalling in a way the pictorial sketch by Prescott of the environs of the city of Mexico when visited by Cortez. Says Panbesa: "I found it abounding in good things, without a rival in the country of Thebes; the very home of happiness. Its meadows are filled with every good thing." If half that he narrates be true, I do not wonder that the Israelites in the desert hankered after the good things left behind. I notice particularly this pen and ink sketch of certain edibles: "Its canals are rich in fish, its lakes swarm with birds; its fields are green with vegetables; lentils grow everywhere; melons, sweet as honey, ripen in the well-watered beds. Its barns are full of wheat and durra, piled upwards to the sky. Onions and sesame are in the garden, and there, too, the apple blooms, together with the vine, the almond, and the fig, all in luxuriant abundance." And I open to Numbers XI, 5, to read: "We remember the fish, which we did eat in Egypt freely; the cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlic." Little did Panbesa dream that he was doing the Israelites such a good historic turn! "We may suppose," suggests Brugsch, "that many a Hebrew, perhaps Moses himself, jostled the Egyptian scribe in his wandering through the gaily dressed streets of the city."

But what positively of the great Israelite in these days? Rameses had a daughter named Meri (literally "dear"), a name similar to Merris, who, according to Josephus,* found Moses, as the scene is laid in Exodus II. Her name, with her numerous brothers' and sisters', is in the temple of Abydos, and was put there many years before Moses wrote his history!

Now mark this circumstantial evidence: One hundred years after Rameses' death, when the name of

* Antiquities, II, 9, § 35.

Moses had become a by-word to the Egyptians—perhaps one of terror to unruly children—a place in Middle-Egypt bore the name of Moses*. It was named T-en-Moshé, “the river-bank of Moses,” or “the island of Moses,” and lay near the city Khu-aten, now the Tell-el-Amarna.

With a remark or two, in reply to our interrogative subject, I will proceed to close this recital of some of the evidence that Egypt presents in support of the Mosaic record of the Israelitish sojourn. The Exodus itself would require many pages in this Review, to fully and clearly present, and we seem to be on the threshold of further and valuable discoveries in the Delta, which will afford fresh and abundant material for the Biblical Egyptologist.

The famous treaty concluded at Zoan between Rameses and the Khita (a powerful nation of the East) is a remarkable diplomatic document in many ways; its interesting feature to us is its apparent allusion to evil-disposed and restless subjects, likely to evade the treaty and give trouble. The Israelites, then a numerous people in the land, were full of murmurings at their hard lot, and, doubtless, often attempted to flee across the border—the treaty particularly touching upon the treatment of fugitives. Says Brugsch: “We may perhaps read between the lines that the Jewish people are meant.” The phraseology of the treaty is in places like forms of speech in the Pentateuch, particularly the clause concerning rewards, which begins: “But he who shall observe these commandments,” etc., and the saving clause with reference to punishments: “There shall not be put to death,” etc.

We cannot pause to speak of the condition of the empire under Mineptah—Egypt was then a troublesome country to govern—and will merely note an occurrence of much significance to the Mosaic student.

* “Egypt under the Pharaohs,” Vol. II, 113.

Certain Arabs of Edom petitioned Mineptah for permission to return to the rich pasture lands of the Delta. One of his officials reports: "We have carried into effect the passage of the tribes of Shasu from the land of Aduma (Edom) * * * to the lakes of the city Pitum (Pithom)," etc. These Arabs, driven over the border by Rameses II, were probably too numerous and inclined to be troublesome, when the Israelites dwelt in the land. After the Exodus there was room enough and to spare for a great many tribes. At any rate, the fact of this colonization is striking when we consider that "the children of Israel were fruitful, and increased abundantly, and multiplied * * * , and the land was filled with them." Mineptah was graciously pleased to receive as settlers the people his royal father had no room for, and had expelled the land.

The witness of Egypt to the sojourn of the Israelites presents evidence sometimes devious and sometimes direct. Little or great, circumstantial, or inferential, or positive, all points the way of Moses—never to the opposite quarter. As we scan the evidence "down the stream of time," it is not unlike a far-off river seen from a lofty mountain height; hidden, for a time, only to reappear; a silver ribbon, and then an indistinct line through foliage and haze. Yet the testimony is all down current, and in one general direction, whatever the turns and the obscurities. Of Moses' sketch of Israel in Egypt it has been said, with a figurative accuracy, that "the warp of the story is Hebrew, the woof is Egyptian." To the impartial Biblical student in Egyptology the inevitable conclusion is: Wherever Egypt speaks of what Moses wrote in the Pentateuch, she bears witness that his record is true.

WILLIAM C. WINSLOW.

RUM AND POLITICS IN NEW YORK CITY.

THERE is on the face of it something incongruous and absurd in putting together rum and politics, as if they had any interest in common. Any combination between the two is plainly unfit and unnatural. Since the tendency of the rum traffic is always towards a violation of the law, it should suffice that rum-sellers enjoy the protection of the law without being specially authorized to say what the law shall be. They are chiefly to be governed and not to govern, while their traffic is to be suffered and regulated according to the provisions of expedient and wise legislation, as the best interests of the community may determine.

The political interest, on the other hand, when conceived of as it ought to be, is almost the exact opposite of the rum interest. It is only to be concerned about the good order and welfare of the body politic, and is charged with the duty of keeping clear of every connection or influence which would pervert its authority, degrade its character and make the administration of the law a matter of selfishness and abuse. Least of all, should it combine with a gigantic interest which is associated with every form of lawlessness and crime, and which must inevitably drag down and debase any association or system which condescends to keep it company.

Now, it is just this unnatural and degrading co-partnership which New York City is compelled to witness and from which it greivously suffers. There is no risk in saying that the most formidable and shameless combination in this city to-day is that between the rum-sellers and politicians. In the

administration of municipal affairs the two have become leagued together as if necessary parts in the same system and as if their interests were inseparable. They seem to have fallen into the idea that rum is for politics, and that politics are for rum; that it is in either case a duty and a privilege to uphold the interest of the 'other, whoever may remonstrate or oppose; and that the rum-sellers are expected and entitled to play an especial part in city legislation, doing good work for the politicians, while the latter will use their powerful influence in protecting the interests of liquor. It is vain to remind such persons that the end of high-minded politics is not spoils and plunder, and that a man is not necessarily qualified to become a member of the corporation because engaged in selling whisky. Vain also, to suggest that a Board of Aldermen largely made up of liquor dealers would not be likely to legislate with especial impartiality as between their own, and the interests of the public. It is to be presumed that this politico-whisky school takes for granted that all is fair in rum and politics, and that they can neither be ridiculed nor reasoned out of the idea that in a great city of twelve hundred thousand inhabitants, and with hundreds of interests and millions of property to be protected and cared for, it is their supreme business to care for themselves, and to so manipulate the city legislation as to secure their mutual profit and advancement.

Let us look a little more closely into this combination of rum-sellers and politicians in which the allied parties have, in many respects, become so identified and mixed up, that we can scarcely distinguish the one from the other, or tell which of the two is head of the firm.

What is equally sought for by this joint interest or "corporation sole" is such control in the city government as will give the politicians the greatest amount of patronage and plunder, and the rum-sellers the greatest possible protection in carrying on their busi-

ness. Show to either party that the other can be of no service to it in these respects and the firm would immediately dissolve. It is just because the members are able to play into each other's hands, while, in thousands of instances, the same men serve in the capacity of rum-sellers and politicians, that they are fixed in the purpose never to break a combination from which they reap these double advantages.

As for the politicians, they discovered years ago that the rum interest is the most powerful factor in city politics; that it counts more in caucuses and conventions; commands a greater following, and controls more votes than any other class of citizens. That, of course, means power and plunder, and for either class politics have no other meaning. For the politician, at least, they constitute his sole idea and definition of statesmanship, as they are the only thing which he rolls as a sweet morsel under his tongue. This, then, was enough to make the politicians eager for the combination. The incongruity of uniting rum and politics they never thought of, because from their point of view there is no incongruity about it. They had leveled down to a point in which no company is ennobling or degrading, and if it ever once occurred to them that a man is known by the company he keeps, it never so much as entered their minds that they could afford to forego any company which they could turn to their advantage. The offices and rewards being the objective point; how could they disdain the services of ten thousand rum-sellers, nearly every man of whom is an active and zealous politician, while every dram-shop, being devoted to the double use of drink and politics, will serve as a sort of centre in which to instruct and discipline the forces and direct the campaign?

Consequently, it has come about that whatever its disreputable ways and bad associations, the rum interest is most gladly welcomed and taken into confidence; is largely, not to say obsequiously, patronized and consulted; is put in full possession of party plans

and secrets; is especially counted upon for assistance and success; and understands beforehand, that in addition to other accrued advantages, it is to have its share of the plunder.

If rum-sellers, as a class, were no more interested in municipal affairs than men of a hundred other occupations, no one could complain. But the shame and misery of it is that they have come to the front as by far the most important and conspicuous element in city politics. So far from being spurned or slighted on account of their occupation, they are received with open arms, so to speak, into the best political society. They are in every sense the equals of the politicians, and both together so constitute a sort of double-acting, compound movement in working the machine which controls the city government, that we can scarcely distinguish the one from the other. Certainly, in considering the interests of rum, we find ourselves at every moment following up the interests of politics, and in considering the interests of politics, we are equally following up the interests of rum.

In the next place, for we must try to distinguish between the two, the rum-sellers have special interests of their own, and certainly one good turn deserves another. When we find them so compliant with party discipline and so active and unremitting in local politics, so forward to attend the primary meetings and supervise the appointment of delegates and making of nominations, so ready to furnish supplies of men and money, with which to carry on the campaign, we could not expect them to expend so much devotion and zeal for nothing. It is not at all a case of disinterested benevolence, and they, too, are mindful of the maxim that to "the victors belong the spoils." But more to them than the spoils of office is the matter of having the right sort of men for Aldermen and Commissioners of Excise. And to place such men in office and secure such legislation as will

interfere as little as possible with the traffic, is as much a part of their business as the traffic itself.

If it be thought strange that liquor-dealers as a body are so much more active in local politics than the majority of people engaged in other occupations, it is to be remembered that the former have far more at stake. Sellers of provisions and dry goods have nothing to fear and are concerned to have the government as good as possible. The fraternity of thieves and gamblers have nothing to hope for and are concerned to have it as bad as possible. But liquor-dealers being engaged in a doubtful occupation whose benefits, whatever they are, are offset by great disadvantages and evils, understand full well that to have the Government as good as possible is, so far as the traffic is concerned, but one remove from having it as bad as possible, and that it is for their interest to have it just good enough to give them the protection of the law; and just bad enough not to expose them to risks and penalties.

It is just here that the politicians with their compact organizations and stringent discipline; their vulgar, presuming bosses and dictators; their arbitrary rules and exacting methods; their hordes of servile, mercenary followers; their substitution of promises and rewards for civic pride and patriotic feeling; their greed of office and scorn of principle; their prowling everywhere and always for jobs and contracts which will give them patronage and plunder; their admiration of nothing lofty and contempt of nothing low; it is here that, in turn, the rum-sellers find what is exactly suited to their purpose. The politicians have not been ashamed of them, why should they be ashamed of the politicians? Indeed, while we hear of factions and wranglings among the latter, and an occasional split, the rum-sellers and politicians appear to be so perfectly joined together in one heart and one mind, that whatever is wanted by the one, is agreeable to the other, and we never hear of so much as a jar to suggest a case of incompatibility.

Accordingly, the liquor dealers confidently rely on the politicians to join with them in having the governing power of the city in the hands of men who will strengthen and protect their business. There is a mutual understanding that in as many of the wards as possible this is to be the foremost, supreme issue. The work of caucuses and primary meetings means this, and only this. Any opposing considerations would not weigh for a moment. Any unfortunate disbeliever in rumrule, if listened to at all, could not hope to be sent as delegate to the assembly, and least of all get a nomination for the assembly district. With the rum-sellers or politicians it is not in the least a question of high character, intelligence, knowledge of city affairs, fitness to be a member of the corporation, but of having men who are sound on the liquor question. The fact is thus accounted for that in a city having 225,000 voters, the ten thousand rum-sellers, who, other things being equal, would be entitled to barely one representative in the Board of Aldermen, have twelve or thirteen out of the twenty-four. Indeed, of other professions and trades, there are only two of a kind, two of the members of the board being set down as lawyers, and two as politicians, while there is only one eating-house keeper to represent the seven thousand three hundred sellers of food. It has come to pass, then, that the one interest in the city which ought to have a bare representation in the board has managed to get the balance of power, as if all the other great interests of the city, the industrial, commercial, financial, were of less account than the interest of ten thousand rum-sellers. This shameless monopoly so far from being the result of chance or accident, grows out of the fact that a combination of liquor dealers and politicians are determined to have their men and to manage the affairs of the city to suit themselves; that this allied interest is sworn to render, each to the other, a mutual service; and that it canvasses every ward, follows up every man, manipulates, bargains, buys, bullies, and works the ma-

chine in ever conceivable way, so as to get and retain the controlling power in municipal affairs.

That such an alliance would degrade and prostitute the government of the city goes without saying. As a member of the Board of Aldermen said to the writer, everything tends to degenerate. In one sense, government under such conditions is no government. It certainly is not government by the best, and little more than abuse and mal-administration at the hands of the worst. The order of things has become reversed, and in an important sense, the class that ought to be subject is in power, while the class that ought to be in power is in subjection. As a consequence, one of the richest and most influential cities in the world; a city whose representative, governing body ought to be a matter of pride on account of the character, intelligence and fitness of the men who compose it, is largely made up of such a collection of selfish rum-sellers and low-lived politicians, that it is considered a matter of reproach to be included in their company, as it is impossible to mention their names without exciting ridicule and contempt; that taking into account their ignorance and incapacity, their want of experience in anything above the tactics and bargaining of grog-shop patriots and small politicians, their want of civic pride and high aspiration, the Board of Aldermen, as a body, is felt to be a reproach to the city. It is safe to say that the governing body of no other great city in the world is so thoroughly disqualified and discreditable.

How these trustees and guardians of the city have been moved to carry themselves we have seen in the matter of Excise Commissioners. Everybody except the combination feels that the Board of Excise shamefully abused their power in granting so many licenses, and, in not a few cases, to persons so notoriously unworthy and disreputable. Neither the Commissioners nor Board of Aldermen, however, have so much as had a suspicion, apparently, that the former did more than was their duty to do, or that they are less than

profitable servants. Accordingly, when a commissioner resigned and the Mayor nominated another to fill his place who was thoroughly acceptable to the rum-sellers and politicians, the board confirmed him without a moment's hesitation. On the other hand, when the terms of this and another member expired, one of whom was not in favor with the boss, while the other was not in favor with the combination generally, as being non-partisan and opposed to the liquor interest, the board refused to confirm them for a month. Indeed, it is well known that a tremendous pressure was brought to bear on the Mayor to nominate men who were thoroughly committed to the politico-*rum-selling* interest, while an equal pressure was brought to bear on the board not to confirm the nominations of the Mayor. Again, when the Mayor sent in the names of two other men, one of whom was a liquor dealer and a politician, the board, which for a month had refused to confirm a Christian gentleman, and then rejected him by a vote of twenty against four, confirmed the liquor dealer by the same vote without delaying fifteen minutes. Indeed, when a member moved to defer action in the matter that they might have time to look into the nominations, he was at once voted down on the ground, no doubt, that it needed as little time to look into the antecedents of a politician and a rum-seller, as it had needed a month of time to investigate a gentleman and a Christian. The case then stands thus: The Excise Commissioners must be the creatures of the Board of Aldermen; the Board of Aldermen are the creatures of the rum-sellers and politicians; while all are the creatures of a powerful boss who controls the machine and dictates to the Mayor, as if it were his privilege to be a creature of the Boss. It is in this way that this precious combination undertakes to ride over New York City, controlling its government and living on the profits of rum-selling, patronage and spoliation.

When it comes to the Police Commissioners, the

Board of Aldermen would naturally use their confirming power in the interest of their constituents, and the former have certainly demonstrated in their recent vigorous action in dealing with illicit liquor saloons, gambling houses and evasions of the Sunday Excise Law, that, if they were not resting under the spell of some paralyzing influence, they were, at least, resting on their oars. In view of this increased vigilance on their part, and that sudden waking up of justice in the office of the District Attorney, which has swiftly meted out to offenders their much delayed deserts, it would, perhaps, be ungracious to inquire too closely into those obstacles and complications which seem to have been the occasion of the law's delay, whether in making arrests or trying cases and punishing the guilty.

Of more account is it to inquire, in what follows, whether anything can be done to stay, and, if possible, break up this wretched system which has done so much to enslave and disgrace the city. That the task is a most difficult one needs no showing. That it must be seriously taken hold of, if the city is to have any decent government at all, is becoming the settled conviction of all good citizens.

The first business in hand then, is to unite without distinction of party against this allied interest between rum and politics. Let it be plainly understood that rule through a combination of this sort cannot be otherwise than demoralizing and corrupt. Good government, under such conditions, is out of the question. No party can ally itself with such incongruous elements and be carried on at the dictation of such selfish interests and not forfeit its reputation, and to that extent make itself unworthy of support. It is not a question at all about belonging to this party or the other, as touching the general affairs of the State or the nation. But, so far as the government of this city is concerned, a man should refuse to belong to any party which is subject to the behests of rum-sellers and machine politicians. The rule of

either would be a disgrace to the city. The rule of both combined is enough to curse and destroy it.

So far as the Corporation is concerned, the special thing to be aimed at is to get a Board of Aldermen who shall worthily represent the entire interests of the city, and not that one interest which is so largely at war with all the others. Let it be determined on all sides, that in one way or another the greater part, at least, of these liquor-dealing Aldermen must be made to step down and out. That this will be a most difficult thing to do in view of the political make-up of the various wards and Assembly districts, no one doubts. That the majority of the Board is made up of such men is due, of course, to that discipline and efficiency of party organization which makes it little less than treason not to vote for a nominee who has been endorsed by the machine. Suppose, on the other hand, the friends of honest government regard it as a kind of treason to vote for a man *because* he has been endorsed by the machine, and especially, *because he is employed in selling liquor*. Let it be taken for granted that if this occupation does not absolutely disqualify him from being a suitable trustee and guardian of the city—which is presumably the case—it does not help him bring to his task any special qualifications, and whether it does so or not, the liquor interest is only entitled to be fairly represented. If, on the part of the disbelievers in rum rule, there was anything like the courage of those who dictate in the interest of rum and regular nominations, and anything like the zeal and activity of those who do their bidding, it is possible that in a majority of the Assembly districts a very different class of men might be elected to the Board. At any rate, things have come to a pretty pass, if in a city of 225,000 voters, ten thousand rum-sellers can command a following which will put a majority of their men into the Common Council, whatever citizens of a different way of thinking may wish or do to the contrary.

In case it is impossible to change the character of

the Board by the present method of election—and the task is believed to be well nigh hopeless—it might be in order to reorganize the Common Council by dividing the city into different Aldermanic districts, and electing a certain number of the Board Aldermen at large. This is what is proposed in Brooklyn, and a bill to this effect awaits the Governor's signature. By such means the better elements in other parts of the city might be able to neutralize that body of voters in the several wards and districts, who abuse the franchise in the interest of the rum-sellers. The principle of local self-government should certainly be retained, if possible, but whether the representation shall be more or less local, is of inconceivably less consequence than that the city shall not forever be disgraced by selfish misgovernment in the interest of a class.

Another way to solve the difficulty would be to take away the confirming power from the Board and put it into the hands of the Mayor. This is what the Mayor recommended in the proposed changes in the charter. Had such power been given him, there is good reason to believe that he would have constituted the Board of Excise of a class of men who would have been in every way acceptable to the better class of citizens. As the matter stands he was blocked, and might have been blocked indefinitely, had he not ungraciously succumbed to the Board by sending in acceptable nominations.

If it be said there is something unrepugnant and dangerous in placing so much power in the hands of a single man, most certainly there is. But it is a matter of actual and dangerous abuse of power at the hands of many, in which, perhaps, some risk must be run in the hope of changing things for the better. There would seem, however, to be little to apprehend in this direction, if the action of the Mayor of Brooklyn may be taken for an example. Certainly, not the most partisan and reckless Mayor could do worse than constitute a Board of Excise which would literally

sow the city with dram-shops, and make a crop of dragon's teeth to be harmless in comparison.

Of equal moment in working an effectual reform will be the enactment of a new Excise bill, by which to limit the number of dram-shops and increase the fee for licenses. The new bill, as lately amended by the Governor, has nothing to say in these respects, and gives promise of affording little or no relief from the burdens under which the city groans. The nine-thousand and seventy-five licenses granted last year, yielded a revenue of only \$510,000, while twenty-five hundred licenses, or one to each five hundred of the population, would, at \$500 each, as in the bill proposed, bring a return of \$1,250,000. This would in some degree meet the increased taxation growing out of the traffic. The enactment and enforcement of such a law would, in the opinion of the Police Commissioners, have "a most beneficent effect." "Any new legislation on this subject," they say, "would be framed with the idea of making the licensed liquor-dealers themselves the most interested, active and efficient agents in the prevention of the unlicensed traffic. This can only be accomplished by a higher license fee than any now required in this State. A man who has paid dearly for the privilege of selling liquor himself, will see to it that others do not sell unless they have paid also." In these opinions the District Attorney entirely agrees. He also expresses the belief that in the "enactment and enforcement of a proper Excise law is to be found the solution of the social problem which is rapidly becoming one of enormous and alarming magnitude; and in the suppression of many forms of vice and crime, which, of late years, have become rife in this community." Surely, in the face of such testimony, that large and influential class who have seen enough of the humiliation and disgrace of government at the hands of rum-sellers and machine politicians, will shrink from no task by which to rescue the city from such shameless misrule.

That the enactment of a law so greatly limiting the number of licenses and increasing the fee, will, of itself, involve difficulties of no ordinary kind, will appear from the fact that, of the seventy-one Democrats who voted on the bill as vetoed amended by the Governor, sixty-two were in favor of free rum. It is plain, therefore, that the bill which is now being drawn can never hope to pass the Legislature without changing the character of that body in its attitude towards the liquor question. Accordingly, it is proposed by the Church Temperance Society to agitate the subject throughout the State, and especially in the cities having a population above ten thousand, of which there are twenty-five. By this means it is expected to convince the public of the fitness and pressing need of the measure proposed, and return men to the next Legislature who will give this State an Excise bill which is something more than a dead letter and a failure.

With the passage of such a bill, and the creation of a Board of Aldermen who fairly represent the city, something will have been done to weaken, and it is hoped, break up that combination between the rum-sellers and politicians, which has done so much to degrade and disgrace municipal government, and bring reproach and distrust on our institutions. It brings us, in fact, face to face with that most serious of all questions connected with free institutions, the administration of government in great cities.

So far as the rum-sellers are concerned, it is not proposed to do them any wrong, as if they were of less account than other citizens and less entitled to their rights. It is not a question, primarily, whether they more than others should be under the law. But it is a question which the community is called upon to know and decide, whether they, of all others, should be above the law, as if their interests were paramount and supreme. That is a question so easily asked and answered, that whoever believes in the

one-sided administration of law in this great city by other representatives and for their special benefit, richly deserves his share of the odium and disgrace which befalls the city in consequence.

LESTER M. DORMAN.

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL AS A SPIRITUAL INSTRUMENTALITY.

THE advent of Christ into the world was a Divine assertion of right and power, which presented considerations challenging the attention of man anew, to such relations as had already existed, joined to new ones about to be revealed. It conflicted at once with innate propensities, and all acquired indifferences and neglect. It abruptly encountered the one, and still prominent human inclination, that of underrating and overlooking the advantages of present opportunity. It disclosed infirmities, and offered remedial agencies. As light discovered objects at the material creation, so now there was to be the diffusion of a light, exerting a new and added penetration. In this new medium the Kingdom of Heaven was to become *apparent* two-fold, by outward and sensible testimony, and by undeniable, unmistakable and inward evidence—"within you"—in individual character. It was to continue, marked by these two parallel distinctions. Faith, which had existed inseparable from human experience, had been confined to the few, so far as any marked examples appear. Consequently, the event of the Incarnation included more than could then be accepted, or in any sense comprehended. The manifestation of God in the flesh was easily construed as a new mystery, if it did not at once introduce a developed kingdom, with places of worldly honor and distinctions, with glittering crowns and exalted titles. That it was possible to attain greatness by other than the conquest of arms and by

an overwhelming onset, was never conceived. The character, the words, the work of the Incarnate God conveyed no commensurate immediate conviction to minds lacking a subtle power yet to be made more distinct. Aggressively, "the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world," burst upon eyes which only saw men as trees walking. By an illumination, before unknown, what was hid was now to be made visible, and elements hitherto dormant or inoperative were to take on the form and movements of life, warmed to energy by a permeating influence divinely urged. The agencies inaugurated were so opposite in character to any as yet presented, that not only they but the Author of them met chiefly derision prior to open opposition. That "the foolish things of the world should be chosen to confound the wise, and the weak things to confound the things which were mighty," had no meaning that could be assented to in that day. Plainer truths were but partially and imperfectly understood, even by elected disciples. The injunction to "go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature," was to their conception narrowed down, at the first, to their own day's journeyings, without, perhaps, a thought of that succession of Apostles, and complex means which should be provided to complete the eternal purpose of the Almighty One. But, to His Omniscience, that command involved all the intricacies of the infinite plan, from the foundation of the world, the necessities of their day, and equally clear stood out the enfolding of that which was to come, that which has come, and which is now seen; and besides, the significance of untried possibilities which slumber at our very feet, yet to expand into reality and achievement.

Could those ardent followers but have had a glimpse of our day!

The universal sway of the one great empire of the world, which awed and which fettered them in every step of their progress, never had such palpable and

tangible proofs of existence and might as the visible Kingdom of Heaven presents to our favored eyes.

What secular government to-day can array so many unmistakable witnesses of established dominion? The sun does not set upon that nation which guards one day in every seven inviolate, wherein to proclaim homage to the King of Glory. Temples in which to worship are planted regardless of boundaries, beyond which ambassadors dare not intrude; more numerous and noticeable than all the fortifications ever erected.

An authorized ministry by a succession indisputable, maintain both the spirit and the right of their Lord, and are numbered by increasing scores of thousands.

Subjects, there are, comparatively innumerable,—literally members of Christ,—largely and intelligently so considered. With them, the “weak ones,” invincible in undeveloped power, the millions upon millions of the children of the Church,—a marvel of contemplation. History has no parallel to the vast organization of that unmeasured instrumentality,—the Sunday-School. No devotion to science, or secular education, no temptation to conquest ever marshalled such an aggregate body, by corresponding inducement, neither could hold it, by such ties as make it attractive, or compel such unselfish devotion to any cause, as characterizes it. Laborious, self-sacrificing and gratuitous service and supervision are extended on every hand.

The very gratuitous service alone, defies comparison with any or all the vocations of this world.

What infused impulse marks it in these singularities? From whence derived? Not from this world! From what altar comes that sacred fire which kindles and inspires it?—the Church,—the very Body of Christ, and does she perceive like the adorable Master “that some one hath touched me,”—in all this? Has not the time arrived when her fostering care can be bestowed upon it more confidently? Does she pos-

sess a single constituent element with scope more varied or extensive?

The imperfect character which the Sunday-School has been allowed to assume in many minds has arisen from sheer lack of direction as well as misdirection. It has been tolerated too much as an ill-arranged, incongruous outcome of lay zeal, without deep foundation or root, of recent and therefore of temporary and unenduring growth, and yet, too serious in its nature to be deemed altogether preposterous,—too closely allied in many of its features to the affections of parents and approved by too large a constituency to be ignored, and still, not of “the body”—not exactly a satellite, none being quite prepared to say a fragment, cast off in a tangent toward some possible resolvable sphere.

Admitted to be a reformatory aid, and at once an antagonizing influence, with some semblance of desirableness, and at the same time obtrusive upon prescribed functions, under already established obligations. Objectors differed as widely and seriously as its promoters, in judgment and discussion upon its claims.

On the other hand the clergy where overburdened with a large and varied charge, sought assistance in reaching and teaching those within their cure, and still, because the Sunday-school was unknown, and therefore originally unprovided as a means, approached it with caution and distrust, and this partly because of its defects in operation.

Experience with it, however, led to a better understanding and appreciation, for it evidently possessed merit, and that based upon results, more or less exhibited and sufficient to raise it into limited estimation.

The laity looked upon it as practical and a rightful factor and auxilliary of the Church, and with such conviction that led them to actively engage in its behalf. With a sort of commendable prescience they

saw in it a living and reciprocal vitality, that could seek and fulfill within the Church one consummation.

The existence of neglect in parental duty toward their offspring, was a deplorable fact which they were unable wholly to account for, but which had taken root so long before the Sunday-School was thought of, that its origin could not be admitted as rightfully charged to it, while it seemed possible by it to assist the Church in educating a new generation, which in turn through a more godly life might return to the advantages of what was intended by primitive measures.

Again the laity, with a consciousness of purity of intent and sincerity in their endeavors, could not, and would not admit, that they sought in any way to act otherwise than as devoted Churchmen—that they ought not to be suspected or charged, while laboring in the Sunday-School of the Church, with any desire or disposition to do ought without her sanction and guidance, and that in discussing Sunday-Schools as a whole, they should be exempted from criticism, which they deemed inapplicable to them. They saw in their day, both a need, and an opportunity.

To them, both being facts, it now comes to pass that reasoning alone will not solve the problem, nor reconcile differences.

Therefore, the Sunday-School must manifest capabilities and exhibit results, in order to induce further trial, continuance and adoption, as a legitimate and suitable instrumentality in the Church. To become convincing, a defined and possible aim must be indicated and settled upon,—in perfect accord with the true design of the Church, in harmony and consistent with its every mode, precept, ordinance and sacrament,—in order to awaken a confidence where now wanting and to establish it more firmly where accepted. It must prove itself capable of effecting results by its own special operations, and they to have true kinship with the Church itself,—capable of increasing them,—multiplying them, not in special

cases with here and there an instance only under peculiar circumstances, but generally,—universally.

Its range must be co-extensive with that of the Church, or it fails to become a satisfactory or worthy coöperator.

In order to secure these ends, what must be expected and developed in it, not now always present, or at least conspicuous? First, and most important, that its relations in every respect, may be rightly estimated and understood by those engaged in it, and with unanimity, thereby securing oneness of purpose and action. Then opportunity by which both clergy and laity may be brought together with frequency, for agreement on what is most profitable and desirable, that the definite action of both may be in accord, and both inform, and educate, by interchange of views and experiences, so that when put into practice in the several spheres of work, there may be a certainty that the services, the lesson, the whole character of the session, shall have one comprehensive design, and be equally perceptible in the treatment of the individual scholar.

As an inflexible rule every officer and teacher should be a *communicant*, else, how competent to teach the spiritual lesson of the sacraments?

The character and fitness of each should be thoroughly known by the Rector, who alone should appoint all of them to their positions. Progress has already been made in every direction through the holding of Convocations in various Dioceses, and nothing ever contributed so advantageously to help and inspire the laity as these. The workers are enabled to carry back to their parishes material suggestions and parts of a system, as well as to impart and exchange that which tends to advantage and improvement. Variances have lost their prominence, and differences disappear into unimportance. What elevated one benefitted and expanded the whole. The clergy were better enabled to realize that however crude the work seemed in isolated cases, a sufficient

number of a superior type portrayed a spirit which could be both respected and utilized. Out of the Convocation grew the leaflets for uniform instruction. These, receiving Diocesan sanction, carefully and ably edited, prudently arranged, furnish a system by which so much can be condensed into the brief hour of the Sunday School sessions. Being of so high an order in themselves, they incite a disposition for research and contemplation which enlarged and enriched the usefulness of the teacher, and the heart and understanding of the scholar.

With this gained, what followed in application of all this to the particular parish?

First, a confidence on the part of the Rector, that loyalty to the principles of the Church, was dear to the heart of the devout lay helper, and that many so inspired could be selected to act as his coadjutors.

Secondly, the exhibition of a firm and settled belief on their part that the Church furnished everything necessary to instruct and hold the children, when applied to their understandings. Other means which had passed through experiment, had all proved wanting and failures. The time having arrived when the whole system could be (as it should ever have been) brought completely and entirely under the guidance and control of the Church, what can be seen as a pervading and increasing purpose? As one decided step in advance, it is fully and most convincingly demonstrated that the Church's system of teaching is not only the right one, but, when steadily pursued, the very one which the children do not fail to recognize and become interested with.

Take the instances, and they are not only actual but on the increase, where a settled line of procedure is laid down; where the collective and individual requirements are made to sustain an equilibrium. On the one hand the collective need of such services, and the supply of such books of services, as are seasonably modified to be best applicable to the juvenile condition of mind, thereby creating the love of a de-

vout service of praise and prayer to God, is accompanied with direct application of such judicious selections of Scripture, Catechism and Collect as to develop a sense of intelligent personal obligation to the law and will of God. The anthems, hymns, Creed, Scriptures, and the ordinances and sacraments of the Church are arrayed in a manner to impress the learner with their living meaning and force for his or her special use and benefit, and with a directness not easily evaded. The fruits of this method can be judged rightly only in their production. If what is taught is retained and produces effects in those taught it is not in vain. Does the Sunday School system, by pursuit of these methods, result so as to claim for it the certainty of being a spiritual instrumentality? The facts must be the only answer. Where it causes the children to be brought to baptism, and where it leads to the fulfillment of the vows of baptism, is one evidence to that end. The numbers everywhere added from it, by confirmation, to the Church will be granted as another. The very presence of the teacher, noticeable in many examples, at the font with their scholars, presenting them, and at the same time becoming sponsors in absence of any other provisions, and the appearance of teacher and scholar kneeling side by side at the first communion does infer something of more than outward accomplishment. These, as the Church directs, have been taught the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and such other things as a Christian should know and believe to his soul's health—caused to hear sermons, and it is shown, brought to the Bishop to be confirmed—all in the line directed. As a reasonable test of the quality of the office performed by the Sunday School, it may be asked, are these confirmed ones really as well instructed, do they continue to live as Christians, in a manner equally irreproachable as do others brought to the Communion through other influences of the Church? Do they remain within it with equal steadfastness

and loyalty? Do they in turn become co-workers therein, in a less proportion than the others alluded to? This can be answered by every Rector, and perhaps variously.

The observation of the writer confirms him in the opinion that an unbiassed investigation would render a verdict favorable to the Sunday School, inasmuch as instances are in his mind where one-third up to three-fifths of the teachers of given schools are graduates from the same body—where it is a common sight to see veteran teachers pursuing their labors with former pupils as their companions in the same loving work, reduplicating it immeasurably. With such helpers, the minister is armed with greatly increased ability. Cheered by a loving and abiding sympathy—nerved with a purpose—having his laity at disposal, as multiplied instrumentalities, to sustain and extend the Kingdom in which he is commissioned to serve. Under him, rightly enlisted and employed by Divine arrangement, they bear part in fulfillment of the command to “preach the Gospel to every creature.” By patient, simple, repetitious teaching, the principles of a righteous life are trained into controlling habit, transforming the natural into the spiritual man—souls are reached, and brought into living membership with the very Body of Christ—His Church. The true theocracy is perpetuated because through instrumentalities in concord with eternal principles.

CARLOS A. BUTLER.

CANON OF THE EPISCOPATE.

BISHOPS Vail and Clarkson have ably called attention to the confused condition of the canons bearing upon the Episcopate, and have pointed out and suggested several necessary changes.

Having had occasion to study these canons very closely, and having had considerable correspondence concerning them, I have not only noticed the faults mentioned by the above writers, but have observed, and have had suggested to me, other faults, two or three of which I shall here briefly mention.

First: Can an *assistant* bishop resign? If so, *what* does he resign? He cannot resign under canon 15, for the reason that *he* has no *jurisdiction* to resign. His position in the diocese is that of an assistant, with right of *succession*, indeed, and performing only such duties as may be assigned to him by the bishop. He cannot resign his office, and if he were disposed to resign his right of succession (for which there is no provision) and could have his resignation accepted, it may fairly be asked if he would not have a right to re-election to a diocese, or to a missionary jurisdiction, and to a seat and vote in the House of Bishops. Canon 15, section 16, clause 4, whether including a *missionary* jurisdiction or not, expressly refers to a jurisdiction, which the assistant bishop never had, and therefore could not resign. Hence, if this clause is to be strictly interpreted, without reference to the spirit and intent of the law, as it is largely claimed that it should be, then its misqualifying effect cannot touch an assistant bishop re-

signed. There are many causes that may be imagined why an assistant should wish to resign. For example, suppose the bishop should refuse to assign him any duties at all. Or suppose an irreconcilable difference to exist between the bishops. Again, the canon is very explicit as to the resignation of a diocesan bishop, and in defining the penalties for such resignation. But if a strict application of the word "diocese," in clause 4, be insisted on, if this word, and not "jurisdiction," is the disqualifying word, so to speak, as several eminent gentlemen claim, then I think we must at once admit that a resigned diocesan bishop is eligible to election to a *missionary* jurisdiction. It is not impossible to imagine causes why a hale and hearty bishop should desire to resign his diocese, as in the case of Bishop Chase. He may not then be elected to another *diocese*, but, if the General Convention saw fit, there is nothing to prevent him from being elected to a *missionary* jurisdiction.

Finally, if a resigned diocesan bishop can be elected to a *missionary* jurisdiction, it must be conceded that he becomes a "missionary bishop," as the term is used in the canons, and if a "missionary bishop," then he becomes invested with the rights and privileges that belong to the office under our laws. What follows? He is restored to his seat and vote in the House of Bishops, and, as a "missionary bishop," is entitled to election to a diocese. Manifestly this would be an evasion of the penalties inflicted upon his resignation of the diocese. And yet such a thing is possible. I do not think this can be considered a strained interpretation of the canon *if* the spirit and intent of the law is ignored. Penal enactments, we are told, must be strictly interpreted. If so, then the resignation of a "diocese" prevents election to "any diocese now in union, or which may be hereafter admitted into union with this Church," but it does not prevent election to a *missionary* jurisdiction, which may fairly be conceded to be a possible result under

the present canon. I say that this is a possible result if the spirit and intent of the law be ignored. But if respect be had to those, and if the word "jurisdiction" in clause 4 be admitted to be the governing word, as very many eminent prelates of the Church hold, there then can be no confusion resulting. But these and other points plainly suggest the necessity of a revision of our canon law bearing upon the Episcopate. I have no doubt, and think I can say, that this whole question will receive its proper consideration at the next General Convention.

In fact, one may ask if the time has not come again when the whole digest should be revised.

MELVILLE M. MOORE.

RECENT LITERATURE.

Development of English Literature and Language.
By A. H. Welsh, A. M., Member of Victoria Institute. The Philosophical Society of Great Britain. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. London: Trübner & Co. 1883.

These two volumes indicate a prodigious amount of labor, and can be justly called a great work. The conception of it, in its breadth and detail, shows philosophic insight, while its method and treatment prove the judgment, taste and extensive reading of the author.

The work has met with unfriendly criticism in some quarters, not because of intrinsic defects, either as to facts or reasoning, or because of a deficiency of skill, thought or culture, but on the ground of *alleged* plagiarism. We shall enter upon no controversy as to the justice of the charge. While we do not deny some marked traces of minute familiarity with Taine, we, yet, very frankly say that the work is much superior to that of the French author. It can be utilized with more safety and facility by the student or general reader. His design was to show the historic growth of English literature, and, at the same time, to make plain the influence of the national life in giving form and expression to its texture. We think he has accomplished his aim with eminent success, and in a manner as original as it is satisfactory. Enthusiasm is one of his striking qualities, and, by his vivid description, fullness of information and analytic power, he *imparts* that enthusiasm and holds the attention and interest of the reader captive.

His views on the origin and characteristic growth of American literature are confirmed by common sense and the philosophy of the human mind. It necessarily stands in organic relation to English literature. Chaucer and Emerson are the births of a common parent. Neither national pride nor patriotism is honored by an attempted severance of the vital connection. Apart from the heritage of blood and brains, and accumulated mental riches transmitted from the period of "Beowulf" to Carlyle, our literature, as distinctively American, would possess all the imbecility of premature birth, with little hope of a maturity of beauty and vigorous life.

We commend these volumes as a valuable treasure of all that pertains to the subject of English literature. In all the qualities of literary workmanship they speak for themselves, and as to their scholarly accuracy and worth, they have the endorsement of such names as Edwin P. Whipple, John G. Whittier, Oliver Wendell Holmes and Edmund Clarence Stedman.

Essays: Classical, Modern. By F. W. H. Myers. In two volumes. London and New York: Macmillan & Co.

Mr. Myers is one of the foremost of living English essayists, and is in some respects a strong and original writer. He cannot be passed by on the part of those who follow the lead of modern literature. He is one on whom the classics have had their full share of influence, and yet one who is thoroughly possessed of the modern spirit. These two elements are contending for the mastery in a somewhat original mind, and the result is that, in the field of pure literature, Mr. Myers is one of the most symptomatic of living writers. He does in prose what Arthur Hugh Clough did in poetry; he feels the pulse of present thought. It is not meant by this that he simply gives a rehash of what others have written; his criticisms are genuine, fresh, independent, and abound in creative ideas; they are his

own opinions, and gain their value on this account. The older English essayists had a mannerism of their own, as Jeffery, Carlyle, Macaulay, but Mr. Myers in no sense copies them. His style, indeed, might be improved, but his sense is always superior, even to a tolerably good style. It is hard to say in which field he excels—the ancient or modern. The classical essays are only three, and cover the “Greek Oracles,” “Virgil” and “Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.” The modern essays are devoted to “Giuseppi Mazzini,” “George Sand,” “Victor Hugo,” Ernest Renan,” “George Eliot,” “Arthur Penrhyn Stanley,” and to essays on “Archbishop Trench’s Poem,” “A New Eirenicon” reviewing Prof. Seelig’s *Natural Religion* and “Rossetti and the Religion of Beauty.” None of these papers are great, but there is an infinite deal of wise and refined thought packed away in them. Mr. Myers usually writes from competent knowledge, and one may believe in his thorough honesty. Hence, these essays, especially those on classical subjects, may be read as expressing the best thought of the day on art, poetry, literature, and the moral issues of truth. Mr. Myers has strong sympathy with the agnostics, though at every step, in dealing with religious truth, he betrays the fostering care of his spiritual mother, the Church of England. What charms in these essays is their atmosphere. Nothing has been written upon Rossetti which is more appreciative. Virgil has never found a more congenial interpreter; the Greek Oracles, under his hand, have a certain message to mankind, and Prof. Seelig finds in him the best English reader of his much misunderstood work. There is enough in these essays for a lengthy criticism, but the best use one can make of them is to read them critically and thoughtfully, and compare the opinions expressed by Mr. Myers with one’s own experience in life, literature and religion. The essays themselves are likely to live.

Life of Bishop Wilberforce: with selections from

his Diary and Correspondence. By A. R. Ashwell and Reginald G. Wilberforce. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

This volume is necessarily unsatisfactory. Bishop Wilberforce was very near being the prime human force in the Church of England during nearly forty years of his life, and an abridged *memoir* of such a man is much like an abridged Bible. You like it, but after all, you want the original and entire story. In due time Mr. Murray's three volume edition will be accessible in a cheaper form; but, meanwhile, the American edition, though without an index, will have to do duty for what most people will know about the greatest English Bishop since the Reformation. The scissors have been judiciously used and the volume is so reduced in price that, with all its manifest defects, it is a boon to American Churchmen to have the story in any accessible form. Who Bishop Wilberforce was, what he did, how he did it, is now well understood among intelligent readers. The compilers of his *memoir* have acted wisely in giving his own words to the public. During his lifetime he readily incurred the charge of insincerity because he was an attractive and many-sided man. The charge could only be refuted by baring his inner life to the light of day. In defense of this course, his son quotes the approval of Archbishop Tait, between whom and Bishop Wilberforce there existed an intimate and honorable friendship, and also the consent of the persons who had the best right to feel aggrieved because they found themselves impaled for their true character in the Bishop's private diary. The biography had to be thus free and open in its character or it could be nothing adequate to the demands of the case, and the outcry against his son's course, on examination, seems to have been without any adequate foundation. He simply did what Boswell did in his *Life of Dr. Johnson* and Mr. Froude has done in his *Carlyle's Life and Letters*. He could not intelligently have done anything else. The value of this

biography is twofold. It gives the analysis of a man who visibly changed the working aspects of the Church of England for his generation; it also furnishes one with fresh and true insight into the Church of England for that period. It is the only adequate biography of a great Churchman that has been written in modern times. Wilberforce, Surrey, Newman, Manning, W. G. Ward, Keble, Maurice, Bunsen, Rowland Williams, Thirlwall—when the lives of these men are fully written, what remains to be known of the English Church during the great revival of the last half century? These men were the English Church, so to speak, while they lived or remained in it. Bishop Wilberforce's *Memoirs* shows how the yet remaining biographies should be written.

George Sand. By Bertha Thomas. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

It is but just that the name of George Sand, which has so long been the synonym for all that unsexed a woman, should occupy a prominent place among the famous women of the century. The third of the series, it will introduce to many readers a new source of pleasure, in opening a hitherto forbidden field to all but the exceptionally bold. The book opens with a rapid glance at the circumstances of both education and early marriage, and through them traces the causes influencing the life, and, to a great extent, the peculiar genius of the writer. Her controlling idea was an escape from the artificial restraints, which she believed crippled and dwarfed the characters of those around her. In the sketch here given, the grave faults of her career are not condoned; but in a peculiarly appreciative analysis, the mixed motives governing such a life are very ably stated. Her views on the marriage system of France, her political relations and acquaintance with the leading men of her time are fully described, including a delicately guarded estimate of her relations with De Musset and Chopin. It is probable that many who read this

sketch will be led to enjoy and estimate for themselves the writings of a woman, who, with George Eliot, has left the greatest impress, not only in her own land, but in England and America, of any novelist of her day.

Memoirs of John Adams Dix. Compiled by his son, Morgan Dix. In two volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Gen. Dix came just a shade or two short of being a great popular leader; in fact, he was a great leader without popularity, or, rather, he was greater in the field of practical affairs than in that of constructive statesmanship. His early military training fitted him rather to control than to guide men. This is not saying that his life did not deserve all the attention which his son has bestowed upon it, neither is it limiting his position beyond its visible limitations in actual life. It is only expressing a general fact. He combined the soldier and the civilian in a rare degree. He was in public life during some sixty of his eighty years. "He was one of those who formed the link between the period of the Revolution and that of the final and perpetual consolidation of the American Union," and was almost the first to determine what constituted disloyalty to the country in the late civil war. He was essentially the man of action, not the thinker, the man of authority, not the scholar, and yet in thought and scholarship he was only second in rank, because he was not quite first. Dr. Dix seems to be sensible of this and has written an essentially political biography. This was entirely fitting and he has executed his task with singular modesty and good sense, except where he apologizes for his father's course with reference to the emancipation of the slaves, where no apology can atone for a political blunder. The truth is, that Gen. Dix was without the prescience which marks the statesman. Webster instinctively stood by the integrity of the nation, because he felt that the nation was greater than any of its individual elements. Gen. Dix was as patriotic

and loyal as ever Webster was, but he did not see things with the same comprehensive grasp of the situation. The personal element in this biography is supplemented by an exhibition of Gen. Dix's political services, and by showing how his career was intertwined with the general life of the day. Dr. Dix has told this story with simplicity and skill, and has made a book which is invaluable to the political student of the last fifty years. His father, though a New Englander by birth, was educated chiefly in Canada and New York, and bore little trace of his Puritan origin. He became a Churchman in early life, and was connected by marriage and political and professional associations with the foremost families in New York. While this threw him out of the popular current, it did not remove him from sympathy with the people or prevent a true regard for their interests. He was the man who was always called in to save the state or the country at a critical moment, and the story of his career illustrates traits of character which are only found in the foremost civilians among a great people. Dr. Dix has built a noble monument for a noble life, in which integrity and patriotism contended for the mastery of honored rivals.

Epochs in Church History and other Essays. By the Rev. E. A. Washburn, D.D. Edited by the Rev. C. C. Tiffany. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

The fact is gaining slow recognition, that in the death of Dr. Washburn the American Church lost, perhaps, its foremost man in the realm of thought and scholarship. He stood upon the high plane of the most advanced and best educated minds, and nothing in the thought and movement of the age was foreign to him. He was a representative man, and his writing, even if it may not have the finish which his fine taste demanded, is so important that it ought not to be much longer kept in manuscript. His sermons were able, but the sermon did not give room enough for his thought. Dr. Washburn was specially

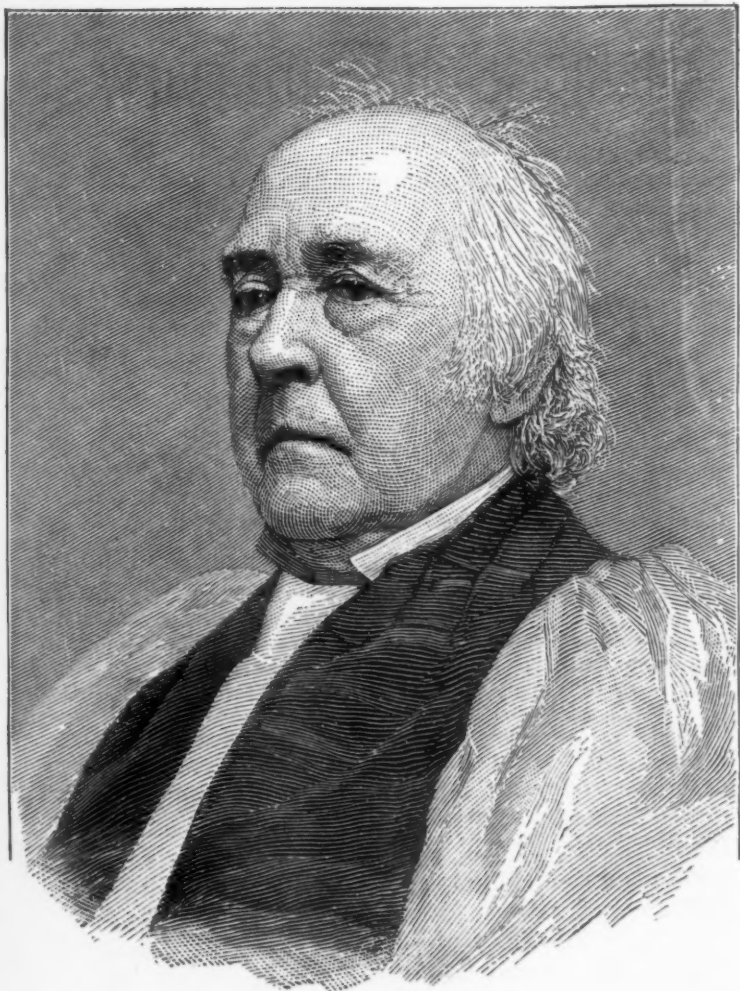
interested in history and the interpretation of the Bible, and only the ethical results of his study could find their way into his short sermons. Such essays as are printed in this volume, being the genuine and free expression of his thoughts, are a true measure of his ability and gifts. They comprise his lectures on Church history and several occasional essays, as those on Richard Hooker, on Biblical Criticism, on the Study of the Scriptures, on the Christian Faith and Theology, on Judaism and Christianity, and on a Personal Resurrection and Modern Physical Science. Within this range of subjects, Dr. Washburn was peculiarly at home, and his best thought is here expressed in a clear, glowing and weighty style, in which the whole man is brought into contact with his readers. The paragraph on Richard Hooker is masterly for the way in which the great English Churchman is set forth in relation to his own times. The essay on Biblical Criticism gives both sanction and forward push to the study of the Bible, because it plainly lays down the canons by which such work is to be done. It will be found that this volume is full of the seminal principles which guided Dr. Washburn's thinking, and that, to a great extent, his thinking and teaching is that by which the Church is to enter upon the work of guiding public opinion in this country. It would be necessary to take unusual space to subject this volume to the proper amount of criticism, because in its general trend its positions are undoubtedly right, and the objections lie against special points only. But waiving these minute differences, it must be confessed that since Dr. Mahan's writings were collected, no such volume as these essays has come from the pen of an American Churchman.

More Words about the Bible. By James I. Bush. New York: John W. Lovell Company. *The Question of the Day: What is the Bible?* By Thomas Richey, D.D. New York: James Pott.

These two works, written respectively by a Broad

and a High Churchman, notably illustrate that diversity of opinion with reference to the Sacred Writings which the Church allows. The Rev. Mr. Bush publishes his sermons confessedly in the conviction that Dr. R. Heber Newton has met with signal ability a great and pressing want for popular instruction, and that the day is coming when censure will be silenced by grateful acknowledgment of his timely service to those who desire to read the Bible intelligently. Dr. Richey contributes a statement of facts about the Bible, its object, and the proper way to read it, which supplements Dr. Newton's volume on the *Uses of the Bible*, and contains the information that ought to have been included in that work to correct its one-sidedness. Mr. Bush and Dr. Richey are complementary to one another. Mr. Bush presents the right method of looking at Scripture as a whole; Dr. Richey in a scholarly way corrects some of the fallacies of modern criticism, and furnishes the right key to the reading of the Bible. Mr. Bush freely admits that there is much in the Bible that is of no use whatever on the mere casual and careless reading of it, much at which one stumbles if reading in a curious and critical spirit, but holds that the wiser way is to study the meaning of the words of Scripture and inquire if there be not some truths in them which we can take to ourselves. His five sermons were the general subject of present thought about the Bible rather than its critical examination, and culminate, as in the fifth and last discourses, in a statement of the Incarnation. They are chiefly valuable as an evidence of the way in which Broad Churchmen keep to the integrity of the faith. Dr. Richey's little book, in like manner, is useful in showing how the Church has taught us to use the Bible and in doing away with some of the Protestant errors concerning its interpretation. Both books are really valuable, as far as they go.

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